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THE
QUARTERLY

OF THE



VOLUME XXII

MARCH, 1921.—DECEMBER, 1921.

Edited by

FREDERIC GEORGE YOUNG

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A SKETCH OF THE ROGUE RIVER VALLEY AND SOUTHERN OREGON HISTORY*

By ALICE APPLIGATE SARGENT

PART I.

Lying between the Cascade mountains on the east, and the Coast range on the west, and tempered by the warm oceanic current from Japan, the Rogue River Valley has a climate unsurpassed except perhaps by the coast valleys of Greece.

THE ROGUE INDIANS

About the year 1834 we find the Rogue River Valley a wilderness inhabited by a tribe of Indians. These Indians were a branch of the tribe living in northern California whom we now know as the Shastas. But the original name was not Shasta but Chesta. They were the Chesta Scotons and the Indians living in the Rogue River valley were Chesta Scotons.

The first white men to set foot in the valley of whom we have any authentic record, were some French Canadian trappers who were trapping for furs for that great British monopoly the Hudson's Bay Company. These men made their way into the valley and set their traps along the river, but the Indians

* Read before the Greater Medford Club in the Spring of 1915.

stole the traps, and the trappers always spoke of them as the rogues; the river was the river of the rogues and the valley the valley of the rogues. Old pioneers have assured me that this is the way by which the river, the valley and the Indians came by the name.

Another story as to the origin of the name is this: That the river was called Rouge or Red river by some French voyageurs on account of the cliffs at the mouth of the river being of red color. By an act of the legislature in 1853-4 Rogue river was to be Gold river, but it has never been so called.

FIFTEEN PIONEERS, OPENERS OF THE SOUTHERN ROUTE

In the year 1846 fifteen pioneers from the Willamette valley came into the Rogue river valley, seeking a route by which immigrants could reach the Willamette valley without having to travel the long northern route across the Blue mountains and down the Columbia river as they had to come. Their names were: Jesse Applegate, Lindsay Applegate, Levi Scott, John Scott, Henry Boygus, Benjamin Burch, John Owens, John Jones, Robert Smith, Samuel Goodhue, Moses Harris, David Goff, Benit Osborne, William Sportsman and William Parker.

Lindsay Applegate was my father, Jesse Applegate, my uncle.

Each man was equipped with a saddle horse and a pack horse. As they made their way through the Rogue river valley they were constantly followed by the Indians and had to be on guard day and night. When they had to pass through heavy timber and brush they dismounted and led their horses, carrying their guns across their arms ready to fire. The Indians were armed with bows and poisoned arrows, the pioneers with the old-time muzzle loading rifles. They made their way through the valley, crossed the Cascade mountains into the Klamath country and thence east to the Humboldt river. Here they met a train of immigrants. They brought back with them one hundred and fifty people, the pioneers traveling ahead and

making a road over which the wagons could pass. This train was taken through to the Willamette valley. Now that we have our splendid Pacific Highway, built at enormous cost, with all the modern implements, rock crushers, steam rollers, and plows, and by the labor of hundreds of men, it is well for us to remember that the first road in southern Oregon and through the Rogue River valley was built by the labor of fifteen men with nothing but axes in their bare hands, and amidst perils and hardships that would strike terror to any but the stoutest hearts. It was free to all, a work of humanity, the only recompense to the builders was a consciousness of duty nobly done.

PART II.

In 1848 a party of pioneers from the Willamette valley came into the Rogue River valley on their way to the gold mines in California. They prospected for gold on Rogue River and on the stream we now know as the Applegate and then pushed on to California. My father was with this party also and the stream and valley were named for him.

In 1850 two men, Cluggage and Pool by name, equipped a pack train at the mining town of Yreka, California, and carried supplies between Yreka and towns in the Willamette valley. They followed a narrow trail across the Siskiyou mountains and along the bank of Bear creek. It was their custom when they reached this valley, to stop to rest and recuperate their animals. The wild grass grew so high in the valley that the man who herded the mules had to stand on the back of his horse in order to locate the rest of the herd.

Cluggage had worked at mining and one day, while they were in camp in the valley, went up into the hills where Jacksonville now is. Following up a gulch or ravine, he came to a place where the heavy rains had washed the soil entirely away, leaving a ledge of rock exposed. Taking his bowie knife from

his belt he dug around in the rocks and sand and found nuggets of gold. He returned to camp and reported his discovery to Pool. Together they went back to the spot and staked out their mining claims.

Returning to Yreka they bought a camp outfit and mining tools and returned to work their claims. They had kept quiet in regard to their discovery, but in some way it became known and in two months from the time Cluggage found the nuggets of gold a thousand men were on the spot. Claims were staked out and every man went to work to dig out the gold. No time was spent in building cabins; a man would throw his saddle blanket over a manzanita bush and put his bed under it. Some built shelters of bark and brush while others put up tents. Fortunes were taken out that winter, and many who had families in the east and elsewhere went back in the spring and summer and brought them to the Rogue River valley. This was the beginning of the settlement. Some took up land in the valley while others settled in Jacksonville and Ashland. The county of Jackson was organized by an act of the legislature on the 12th of January, 1852. Until 1853 there were but four white women in Jacksonville, namely, Mrs. McCully, Mrs. Evans, Mrs. Lawless and Mrs. Gore.

The winter of 1852 was an exceptionally hard one. Snow fell until all trails were completely blocked. Flour rose to one dollar a pound and salt was priceless. Some adventurous men went to California on snow shoes to buy salt. Provisions gave out and towards spring the people had to live on wild game, meat cooked without salt. The summer of 1852 was very dry, about such a summer as the one just past, and the wheat and potato crop were not a great success, but the following season was more favorable.

Ashland was founded in 1852 by Abel D. Helman and Robert Hargadine. A saw mill was built on Mill creek, and in 1854 a big flouring mill was built there, the first in the Rogue River valley. Ashland was named from Ashland, Ohio, Mr. Helman's

native town, and called Ashland Mills on account of the saw and flouring mills. The town was known as Ashland Mills for many years.

The first school in the Rogue River Valley was taught by Mrs. McCully in Jacksonville, and was a subscription school.

The first white child born in the Rogue River valley was Walter Gore, son of a pioneer of 1852, born on December 3rd 1852.

In 1853 the Indians began war on the white settlers, but were soon subdued and a treaty made with them at Table Rock. Stockades were built at different places in the valley, for the protection of the settlers. Fort Lane was built in 1853-4 on a hill facing Table Rock and occupied by regular troops for three years. The old site is on a hill west of some old buildings at Tolo and south of Gold Ray Dam.

In 1853 many immigrants came into the valley; many buildings were erected, but as all supplies had to be brought from Crescent City by pack animals, not a pane of glass could be had that year for window lights; cotton cloth stretched over the openings was used instead.

During the spring steps were taken to found a Methodist church in Jacksonville. The pastor was Rev. Joseph S. Smith. The church was built and used jointly by Methodists and Presbyterians for many years.

The town of Phoenix was founded in 1854, the land being donated by Samuel Culver, whose old dwelling still stands by the roadside. The town was named originally Gasburg.

The first newspaper printed in southern Oregon was called "The Table Rock Sentinel", printed in 1855. The editor was G. W. T'Vault.

Jackson county in 1855 was the richest and most populous county in Oregon. But in that year the Indians again began war. The 9th of October has been called the most eventful day in the history of southern Oregon, for on that day nearly twenty people were murdered by the Indians and their homes

burned. The settlers were totally unprepared and taken by surprise. A Mrs. Haines was taken prisoner and her fate is still wrapped in mystery, although the Indians claimed she died a week later; her husband and two children were killed. Mr. and Mrs. Jones were killed. The next family in their path was the Wagner's. A woman had made her way to the Wagner home who wished to go to Jacksonville. She spent the night at the Wagner home and next morning Mr. Wagner agreed to take her to Jacksonville as he had a span of horses and a wagon. On his return two or three days later nothing was found of his home but a heap of ashes. Long afterwards, when the war was over and the Indians had become friendly towards the whites, some members of this war party told of Mrs. Wagner's fate. When they surrounded the house she barricaded as best she could. The Indians wanted to get possession of her and tried to induce her to come out of the house, fearing to try to enter as they knew she was armed. Finally they set fire to the house hoping to drive her out and then capture her. While the house was burning she stood where they could see her. Taking down her long hair, she combed it out before a mirror and then sat calmly in a chair until the flames closed around her. Her little girl had been captured and died soon after, so the Indians claimed. At the Harris' home were Mr. and Mrs. Harris, their two children, a boy aged ten and a girl twelve, and a man who was employed about the place. This man was in a field and was killed. Mr. Harris was shot while on the porch near the door. Mrs. Harris dragged him into the house, bolted the door and collecting a number of firearms prepared for defense. The daughter was shot in the arm and disabled and Mr. Harris died in about an hour. Mrs. Harris continued to fire at the Indians through the crevices between the logs. After a time an Indian messenger arrived with some message to the Indians who all immediately ran towards the river. As soon as they had disappeared Mrs. Harris and her daughter fled from the house, knowing the Indians would set

fire to it on their return. They hid in a thicket of willows until they were rescued by a company of troops the following day and taken to Jacksonville. When Mrs. Harris ran to meet the soldiers, carrying her little girl in her arms, covered with blood and blackened by powder, Major Fitzgerald, the officer in command cried out, "Good God! are you a white woman?" while tears ran down the cheeks of the bronzed and bearded men.

The little son of Mrs. Harris had disappeared. Every ravine and thicket for miles around was carefully searched by men aided by the soldiers, but not a trace of the missing child was ever found. What pen could picture the grief of the sorrowing mother as the long years rolled by bringing no solution of the awful mystery. I have not the time to go farther into details.

The war was brought to a close in 1856 and the Indians taken to the reservation in the Willamette country.

During the Indian wars there was quite a body of troops in the Rogue River valley. Two companies of volunteers from California, six companies, which were organized here in the valley, and one from Douglas county, besides the regular troops stationed at Fort Lane.

The toll road was built across the Siskiyou mountains in 1857-8 under authorization of the Oregon legislature. The Oregon and California State Company was organized in 1860 to carry mail between Sacramento and Portland. A wagon road was built between Jacksonville and Crescent City this same year and a stage line established.

A company of volunteers was organized in Jacksonville in 1861 called the "Baker Guard." In 1863 a company of state troops was organized in Ashland. It was Company A 1st Regiment, 1st Brigade of Oregon Militia and was called the "Mountain Rangers."

A telegraph line was established in 1866 and the little valley of the Rogue was put into communication with the outside world.

A woolen mill was built in Ashland in 1867-8 at a cost of \$32,000. This mill was destroyed by fire some years ago.

When I was a child there were eight large flouring mills in the valley, and hundreds of pounds of flour were carried out of the valley by pack animals and wagons, besides what was consumed in the valley. From the old Barron farm at the foot of the Siskiyou to Rogue River the valley was golden with grain, and the yield was from thirty to fifty bushels of wheat to the acre. Almost every farmer in the valley had planted an orchard, many of them very large. I have never seen finer fruit, for in those days the fruit was perfectly free from disease—a wormy apple was unheard of. Spraying was not necessary and smudging was never resorted to, as there was always an abundance of fruit. When the orchards came into bearing the country east of the Cascades, and the mining towns in California were supplied with fruit from the Rogue River valley. The first apples raised in the valley were Gloria Mundis, raised on the Skinner place on Bear Creek and sold to a wealthy miner from Gold Hill for two dollars and fifty cents each.

CONCLUSION

Jacksonville, besides being the first town founded in the Rogue River Valley, was at one time the richest and most flourishing. It had been settled by people of education and culture who were wide awake and progressive. I marvel now that people so isolated could have kept so abreast of the times.

When this valley was dotted with beautiful farms and Ashland called Ashland Mills, Phoenix known as Gasburg, and Jacksonville was the hub of the universe (so to speak), my father moved his family from Douglas County where I was born, to southern Oregon, and we lived for two years at the toll house on the Siskiyou.

FREIGHT OVER SISKIYOU TOLL ROAD

Looking back to that time, I realize that it was a wonderful

experience for a child. Every day the road was thronged, there were immense freight wagons drawn by six and eight yoke of oxen, towering Marietta wagons drawn by six span of horses; these we called the "bell teams." The leading span had, fastened to the collars, bows of iron which were hung with little bells. These bells were worn to warn other teams, as there were only occasional places on the narrow mountain grade where these teams could pass one another. When the driver of a team came to one of these places he would stop and listen. If he heard the faintest sound of bells there was nothing to do but wait until the other team passed. Then there were the long trains of fifty, sixty, and eighty pack mules all following the bell mare in single file.

Twice daily the great red and yellow stage coaches went swinging by, drawn by six splendid horses. Unless a horse weighed so many hundred pounds and was so many hands high, the Oregon and California Stage Company would not so much as look at him. They were all matched horses and I recall especially the sorrels and the grays. There were long trains of travel stained immigrants with their weary ox teams. Think what the feelings of these people must have been when they crossed the Siskiyou mountains and beheld far below them the promised land, the Rogue River Valley, lying like a beautiful garden between the mountain ranges.

FORESTS FULL OF GAME

I must not forget the wagons loaded with apples on their way to the mining towns in California. The wagon boxes were lined with straw and the apples piled into them. These apple peddlers advertised their fruit in an unique way by having a pointed stick fastened to a corner of the wagon bed on which was stuck an apple.

When winter came and the snow fell deep on the Siskiyou, as it sometimes does, father used several yoke of oxen and a big bobsled to keep the road open to travel. Sometimes the snow would fall steadily, filling the road behind them and all day

long the weary oxen would have to travel back and forth over the long mountain grade. The forests were swarming with wild animals, panther, wild cats, black, cinnamon and grizzly bear, and great gray timber wolves which would howl in a blood curdling way in the forest at dusk.

Immigrants were pouring into Oregon over the old road laid out by the fifteen pioneers in 1846. The Modoc and Piute Indians made travel unsafe even at that late date. A report came to my father that a train of immigrants coming over that route was in great peril. Father called for volunteers and in a very short time forty-one men were equipped and ready to go to the help of the immigrants. They rode rapidly for several days before they met the train. I have no recollection of my father's or brother's return, but I distinctly recall the story that father told of the rescue. When the party finally discovered the immigrants they had corralled their wagons and prepared to defend themselves as best they could against the Indians. The rescuing party prepared a flag of truce by fastening a white cloth to a long pole, to show that they were friends, and then rode slowly forward. They had ridden almost up to the wagons before they saw any signs of life, then a wagon cover was thrown up and an aged woman with snow white hair called out to them "Glory be to God, we are saved." They brought this train in safety to the Rogue River valley and we, no doubt, have some of these same people living in Medford today.

COMING OF RAILROAD

The next great event in the history of the valley was the coming of the railroad which was built into Ashland from the north. The first train of cars ran into Ashland on May 4th 1884, an event celebrated in an imposing way. Ashland was the terminus until 1887 when the railroad was completed and the Rogue River Valley was linked by bands of steel with the outside world.

Medford, the little city of which we all feel proud, was

founded in December, 1883, by J. S. Howard. It was not incorporated until a year later. Bear Creek, which runs through the city, was named originally Stewart River for Captain Stewart, an army officer who was killed in a fight with the Indians on the banks of the stream on the 17th of June, 1851.

And now, as the years roll on, let us not forget the brave and self-reliant men and women who brought civilization into the wilderness and made it possible for us to have peaceful homes in the Rogue River Valley.

NOTES AND REMINISCENCES OF LAYING OUT
AND ESTABLISHING THE OLD EMIGRANT
ROAD INTO SOUTHERN OREGON
IN THE YEAR 1846.

By LINDSAY APPELATE

After the lapse of thirty-one years (as there has been no history of this circumstance placed before the public), I propose to give a plain statement of facts from notes taken at the time and from memory, giving motives that led to the enterprise. Our immigration of 1843, being the largest that had ever crossed the plains, our progress was necessarily slow, having to hunt out passes for our wagons over rivers, creeks, deep gullies, digging down the banks where nothing but a pack trail had been before, cutting our way through the dense forests before we could reach the valley of the Columbia, and then it appeared as though our greatest troubles had begun; for here we had to encounter cataracts and falls of the Columbia and the broad and lofty Cascades, with their heavy forests.

At Fort Walla Walla, on the banks of the Columbia river, with our teams about exhausted, we were advised to leave our wagons and animals over winter at that place in the care of the Hudson's Bay Co. A portion of the immigrants, including my two brothers' families and my own, accepted the proposition, providing we could secure boats in which to descend the river, as it was supposed we might secure them from the Hudson's Bay Co. Under these considerations we made arrangements with the said Company for the care of the latter through the winter. We failed in our efforts to obtain boats; having a whipsaw and other tools with us, we hunted logs from the masses of drift wood lodged along the river banks, hewed them out, sawed them into lumber, and built boats, and with our families and the contents of our wagons, com-

menced the descent of the river. Dr. Whitman procured us the service of two Indians to act as pilots to The Dalles. From there we thought we would have but little trouble by making a portage at the Cascades. We did well till we reached The Dalles, a series of falls and cataracts. Just above the Cascade mountains one of our boats, containing six persons, was caught in one of those terrible whirlpools and upset. My son, ten years old, my brother Jesse's son, Edward, same age, and a man by the name of McClellan, who was a member of my family, were lost. The other three who escaped were left to struggle the best they could until we made the land with the other boats. Leaving the women and children on shore while we rushed to the rescue, it was only with the greatest effort that we were able to keep our boats from sharing the same fate. William Doake, a young man who could not swim, held on to a feather bed until overtaken and rescued. W. Parker and my son Elisha, then twelve years old, after drifting through whirlpools among cragged rocks for more than a mile, rescued themselves by catching hold of a large rock a few feet above water at the head of Rock Island. At the time of the disaster it was utterly impossible to render them any assistance for it was only with the greatest skill that we succeeded in saving the women and children from sharing the same fate. It was a painful scene beyond description. We dare not go to their assistance without exposing the occupants of the other boats to certain destruction, while those persons were struggling for life in the surging waters. The whole scene was witnessed by Gen. Fremont and his company of explorers who were camped immediately opposite, and were powerless to render us any assistance. The bodies of the drowned were never recovered, though we offered a reward to the Indians who searched the river for months. We reached the Cascades without any other incidents worth relating.

We then made a portage around the falls, packing the most of our effects on our backs, dragging our boats over the rocks,

reloaded and proceeded on our way to Vancouver, ascended the Willamette river to the falls, there made another portage around the falls, reloaded again, ascended the river twenty-five miles, coming to a place called Champoeg, where we finally left our boats and made our way across the valley to Lee's Old Mission, ten miles below where Salem now stands, and on the first day of December entered one of the old buildings to remain for the winter.

Previous to this, we had been in the rain most of the time for twenty days. Oh, how we could have enjoyed our hospitable shelter if we could have looked around the family circle and beheld the bright faces that accompanied us on our toilsome journey almost to the end! Alas, they were not there! That long and dreary winter, with its pelting rains and howling winds, brought sadness to us. Under these sad reflections, we resolved if we remained in the country to find a better way for others who might wish to emigrate, as soon as we could possibly afford the time. From what information we could gather from old pioneers and the Hudson's Bay Co., the Cascade mountains to the south became very low, or terminated where the Klamath cut that chain; and knowing that the Blue mountains lay east and west, we came to the conclusion there must be a belt of country extending east towards the South Pass of the Rocky mountains, where there might be no very lofty ranges of mountains to cross. So in 1846, after making arrangements for subsistence of our families during our absence, we organized a company to undertake the enterprise, composed as follows:

Levi Scott, John Scott, Henry Boygus, Lindsay Applegate, Jesse Applegate, Benjamin Burch, John Owens, John Jones, Robert Smith, Samuel Goodhue, Moses Harris, David Goff, Benit Osborn, William Sportsman, William Parker. Each man had his pack-horse and saddle-horse, making thirty animals to guard and take care of.

A portion of the country we proposed to traverse was at

that time marked on the map "unexplored region." All the information we could get relative to it was through the Hudson's Bay Co. Peter Ogden, an officer of that company, who had led a party of trappers through that region, represented that portions of it were desert-like, and that at one time his company was so pressed for the want of water that they went to the top of a mountain, filled sacks with snow, and were thus able to cross the desert. He also stated that portions of the country through which we would have to travel were infested with fierce and war-like savages, who would attack every party entering their country, steal their traps, waylay and murder the men, and that Rogue River had taken its name from the character of the Indians inhabiting its valleys. The idea of opening a wagon road through such a country at that time, was counted as preposterous. These statements, though based on facts, we thought might be exaggerated by the Hudson's Bay Co., in their own interest, since they had a line of forts on the Snake river route, reaching from Fort Hall to Vancouver, and were prepared to profit by the immigration.

One thing which had much influence with us was the fact that the question as to which power, Great Britain or the United States, would eventually secure a title to the country, was not settled, and in case a war should occur and Britain prove successful, it was important to have a way by which we could leave the country without running the gauntlet of the Hudson's Bay Co.'s forts and falling a prey to Indian tribes which were under British influence.

On the morning of the 20th of June, 1846, we gathered on the La Creole, near where Dallas now stands, moved up the valley and encamped for the night on Mary's river, near where the town of Corvallis has since been built.

June 21—Moved up the valley and encamped among the foothills of the Calapooia mountains.

June 22—This day we traveled along the base of the Calapooias, our course being nearly southeast, passing near a prom-

inent peak since called Spencer's Butte. In a little valley near the butte, on the south side, we discovered Indians digging camas. On perceiving us, most of them secreted themselves in the timber. One of our party succeeded in capturing an old Indian, and representing to him by signs the course we wished to follow, the old fellow preceded us two or three miles, and put us on a dim trail which had been marked by twisting the tops of the brush along the route. It had only been used as a foot-trail and but seldom at that. It led us into a prairie at the base of the main Calapooia chain. Crossing the prairie, we found the little trail where it entered the mountains with difficulty, and being guided by the broken brush, reached at sundown a little stream on the Umpqua side, where we camped for the night in a beautiful little valley where the grass was good and the ground almost covered with the finest strawberries I had ever seen.

The next morning, June 23, we moved on through the grassy oak hills and narrow valleys to the north Umpqua river. The crossing was a rough and dangerous one, as the river bed was a mass of loose rocks, and, as we were crossing, our horses occasionally fell, giving the riders a severe ducking. On the south side we encamped for the night.

On the morning of the 24th, we left camp early and moved on about five miles to the south branch of the Umpqua, a considerable stream, probably sixty yards wide, coming from the eastward. Traveling up that stream almost to the place where the old trail crosses the Umpqua mountains, we encamped for the night opposite the historic Umpqua canyon.

The next morning, June 25th, we entered the canyon, followed up the little stream that runs through the defile for four or five miles, crossing the creek a great many times, but the canyon becoming more obstructed with brush and fallen timber, the little trail we were following turned up the side of the ridge where the woods were more open, and wound its way to the top of the mountain. It then bore south along a narrow

back-bone of the mountain, the dense thickets and the rocks on either side affording splendid opportunities for ambush. A short time before this, a party coming from California had been attacked on this summit ridge by the Indians and one of them had been severely wounded. Several of the horses had also been shot with arrows. Along this trail we picked up a number of broken and shattered arrows. We could see that a large party of Indians had passed over the trail traveling southward only a few days before. At dark we reached a small opening on a little stream at the foot of the mountain on the south, and encamped for the night.

On the morning of the 26th, we divided our forces, part going back to explore the canyon, while the remainder stayed to guard the camp and horses. The exploring party went back to where we left the canyon on the little trail the day before, and returning through the canyon, came into camp after night, reporting that wagons could be taken through.

We found everything all right on the morning of the 27th, although the Indians had hovered around us all night, frightening our horses a number of times. From the tracks we could see that they approached very closely to our encampment. Making an early start we moved on very cautiously. Whenever the trail passed through the cuts we dismounted and led our horses, having our guns in hand ready at any moment to use them in self-defense, for we had adopted this rule, never to be the aggressor. Traveling through a very broken country the sharp hills separated by little streams upon which there were small openings, we came out at about noon into a large creek, a branch of Rogue river, now called Grave creek, on which we rested about two hours. During the afternoon our course was over a more open country—through scattering pine and oak timber. Towards evening, we saw a good many Indians posted along the mountain side and then running ahead of us. About an hour by sun we reached a prairie of several hundred acres, which extends down to very near the bank of

Rogue river. As we advanced towards the river, the Indians in large numbers occupied the river bank near where the trail crossed. Having understood that this crossing was a favorite place of attack, we decided as it was growing late, to pass the night in the prairie. Selecting a place as far from the brush as possible, we made every preparation for a night attack.

In selecting our camp on Rogue river, we observed the greatest caution. Cutting stakes from the limbs of an old oak that stood in the open ground, we picketed our horses with double stakes as firmly as possible. The horses were picketed in the form of a hollow square, outside of which we took up our positions, knowing that in case of an attack there would be a chance of losing our horses and that that would be a complete defeat. We kept vigilant guard during the night, and the next morning could see the Indians occupying the same position as at dark. After an early breakfast we began to make preparations for moving forward. There had been a heavy dew, and fearing the effects of the dampness upon our fire-arms, which were muzzle-loaders, of course, and some of them with flint-locks, we fired them off and re-loaded. In moving forward, we formed two divisions, with the pack horses behind. On reaching the river bank the front division fell behind the pack horses and drove them over, while the rear division faced the brush, with gun in hand, until the front division was safely over. Then they turned about, and the rear division passed over under protection of their rifles. The Indians watched the performance from their places of concealment, but there was no chance for them to make an attack without exposing themselves to our fire. The river was deep and rapid, and for a short distance some of the smaller animals had to swim. Had we rushed pell mell into the stream, as parties sometimes do under such circumstances, our expedition would probably have come to an end there.

After crossing, we turned up the river, and the Indians in large numbers came out of the thickets on the opposite side and

tried in every way to provoke us. Our course was for some distance southeast along the bank of the river, and the Indians, some mounted and some on foot, passed on rapidly on the other side. There appeared to be a great commotion among them. A party had left the French settlement in the Willamette some three or four weeks before us, consisting of French, half-breeds, Columbia Indians and a few Americans; probably about eighty in all. Passing one of their encampments we could see by the signs that they were only a short distance ahead of us. We afterwards learned that the Rogue Rivers had stolen some of their horses, and that an effort to recover them had caused the delay. At about three o'clock, we left the river and bore southward up a little stream for four or five miles and encamped. From our camp we could see numerous signal fires on the mountains to the eastward. We saw no Indians in the vicinity of our camp, and no evidence of their having been there lately. They had evidently given us up, and followed the other company which the same night encamped in the main valley above. Under the circumstances, we enjoyed a good night's sleep, keeping only two guards at a time.

On the morning of June 29th, we passed over a low range of hills, from the summit of which we had a splendid view of the Rogue River valley. It seemed like a great meadow, interspersed with groves of oaks which appeared like vast orchards. All day long we traveled over rich black soil covered with rank grass, clover and pea vine, and at night encamped near the other party on the stream now known as Emigrant creek, near the foot of the Siskiyou mountains. This night, the Indians having gone to the mountains to ambush the French party as we afterwards learned, we were not disturbed. Here our course diverged from that of the other company, they following the old California trail across the Siskiyou, while our route was eastward through an unexplored region several hundred miles in extent.

On the morning of June 30th, we moved along the north bank of the creek, and soon began the ascent of the mountains to the eastward; which we found gradual. Spending most of the day in examining the hills about the stream now called Keene creek, near the summit of the Siskiyou ridge, we moved on down through the heavy forests of pine, fir and cedar, and encamped early in the evening in a little valley, now known as Round prairie, about ten or twelve miles, as nearly as we could judge, from the camp of the previous night. We found no evidence of Indians being about, but we did not relax our vigilance on that account. We encamped in a clump of pines in the valley and kept out our guard.

On the morning of July 1st, being anxious to know what we were to find ahead, we made an early start. This morning we observed the track of a lone horse leading eastward. Thinking it had been made by some Indian horseman on his way from Rogue river to the Klamath country, we undertook to follow it. This we had no trouble in doing, as it had been made in the spring while the ground was damp and was very distinct, until we came to a very rough rocky ridge where we lost it. This ridge was directly in our way. Exploring northward along the divide for considerable distance without finding a practicable route across it we encamped for the night among the pines. The next morning, July 2d, we explored the ridge southward as far as the great canyon of the Klamath but, having no better success than the day before, we encamped at a little spring on the mountain side. The next day, July 3d, we again traveled northward farther than before, making a more complete examination of the country than we had previously done, and at last found what seemed to be a practicable pass. Near this was a rich grassy valley through which ran a little stream, and here we encamped for the night. This valley is now known as long prairie.

On the morning of July 4th, our route bore along a ridge trending considerably towards the north. The route was good,

not rocky, and the ascent very gradual. After crossing the summit of the Cascade ridge, the descent was, in places, very rapid. At noon we came out into a glade where there was water and grass and from which we could see the Klamath river. After noon we moved down through an immense forest, principally of yellow pine, to the river, and then traveled up the north bank, still through yellow pine forests, for about six miles, when all at once we came out in full view of the Klamath country, extending eastward as far as the eye could reach. It was an exciting moment, after the many days spent in the dense forests and among the mountains, and the whole party broke forth in cheer after cheer. An Indian who had not observed us until the shouting began, broke away from the river bank near us and ran to the hills a quarter of a mile distant. An antelope could scarcely have made better time, for we continued shouting as he ran and his speed seemed to increase until he was lost from our view among the pines. We were now entering a country where the natives had seen but few white people. Following the river up to where it leaves the Lower Klamath Lake, we came to a riffle where it seemed possible to cross. William Parker waded in and explored the ford. It was deep, rocky and rapid, but we all passed over safely, and then proceeding along the river and lake-shore for a mile or so when we came into the main valley of the Lower Klamath Lake. We could see columns of smoke rising in every direction, for our presence was already known to the Modocs and the signal fire telegraph was in active operation. Moving southward along the shore we came to a little stream coming in from the southward, and there found pieces of newspapers and other unmistakable evidences of civilized people having camped there a short time before. We found a place where the turf had been cut away, also the willows, near the bank of the creek and horses had been repeatedly driven over the place. As there were many places where animals could get water without this trouble, some of the party

were of the opinion that some persons had been buried there and that horses had been driven over the place to obliterate all marks and thus prevent the Indians from disturbing the dead. The immense excitement among the Indians on our arrival there strengthened this opinion. Col. Fremont, only a few days before, had reached this point on his way northward when he was overtaken by Lieut. Gillispie of the United States army with important dispatches and returned to Lower California. The Mexican war had just begun and the "pathfinder" was needed elsewhere. On the very night he was overtaken by Lieut. Gillispie, the Modocs surprised his camp, killed three of his Delaware Indians and it is said that, had it not been for the vigilance and presence of mind of Kit Carson, he would probably have suffered a complete rout. At this place we arranged our camp on open ground so that the Indians could not possibly approach us without discovery. It is likely that the excitement among the Modocs was caused, more than anything else, by the apprehension that ours was a party sent to chastise them for their attack on Fremont. We were but a handful of men surrounded by hundreds of Indians armed with their poisoned arrows, but by dint of great care and vigilance we were able to pass through their country safely. On every line of travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific, there has been great loss of life from a failure to exercise a proper degree of caution, and too often have reckless and foolhardy men who have, through the want of proper care, become embroiled in difficulties with the Indians, gained the reputation of being Indian fighters and heroes, while the men who were able to conduct parties in safety through the country of warlike savages, escaped the world's notice.

FROM TULE LAKE TO THE SPRING IN THE DESERT.

On the morning of July 5th we left our camp on the little creek (now called Hot creek), and continued our course along the shore of Lower Klamath Lake. This threw us off our course considerably, as the lake extended some miles to the

southward of our last camp, and we did not reach the eastern shore until the day was far spent. We camped on the lake shore, and the next morning, July 6th, we ascended a high rocky ridge to the eastward for the purpose of making observations. Near the base of the ridge, on the east, was a large lake, perhaps twenty miles in length. Beyond it, to the eastward, we could see a timbered butte, apparently thirty miles distant, at the base of which there appeared to be a low pass through the mountain range which seemed to encircle the lake basin. It appearing practicable to reach this pass by passing around the south end of the lake, we decided to adopt that route and began the descent of the ridge, but we soon found ourselves in the midst of an extremely rugged country. Short lava ridges ran in every conceivable direction, while between them were caves and crevices into which it seemed our animals were in danger of falling headlong. The farther we advanced the worse became the route, so that at length we decided to retrace our steps to the smooth country. This was difficult, as our horses had become separated among the rocks, and it was some time before we could get them together and return to the open ground. Then we discovered that one of our party, David Goff, was missing. While in the lava field he had discovered a band of mountain sheep, and in pursuing them had lost his way. Some of the party went quite a distance into the rocks, but could hear nothing of him. We decided to proceed to the meadow country, at the head of the lake, by encircling the lava beds to the northward, and encamp until we could find our comrade. While we were proceeding to carry out this program, we discovered a great number of canoes leaving the lake shore, under the bluffs, and making for what appeared to be an island four or five miles distant. We could also see a lone horseman riding leisurely along the lake shore, approaching us. This soon proved to be our lost friend. The Modocs had discovered him in the lava fields, and probably supposing that the whole party was about to

assail them from the rocks, they took to their canoes. He said that, seeing the Indians retreating, he concluded he would leave the rocks and ride along the lakeshore where the going was good. We nooned in a beautiful meadow, containing about two sections, near the head of the lake.

After spending a couple of hours in this splendid pasture, we re-packed and started on our way towards the timbered butte, but had not proceeded more than a mile before we came suddenly upon quite a large stream (Lost river) coming into the lake. We found this stream near the lake very deep, with almost perpendicular banks, so that we were compelled to turn northward, up the river. Before proceeding very far we discovered an Indian crouching under the bank, and surrounding him, made him come out. By signs, we indicated to him that we wanted to cross the river. By marking on his legs and pointing up the river, he gave us to understand that there was a place above where we could easily cross. Motioning to him to advance, he led the way up the river about a mile and pointed out a place where an immense rock crossed the river. The sheet of water running over the rock was about fifteen inches deep, while the principal part of the river seemed to flow under. This was the famous Stone Bridge on Lost river, so often mentioned after this by travelers. For many years the water of Tule Lake have been gradually rising, so that now the beautiful meadow on which we nooned on the day we discovered the bridge is covered by the lake, and the back water in Lost river long ago made the river impassable; is now probably ten feet deep over the bridge.

After crossing the bridge we made our pilot some presents, and all shaking hands with him, left him standing on the river bank. Pursuing our way along the northern shore of the lake a few miles, we came to a beautiful spring, near the base of the mountains on our left, and encamped for the night. After using the alkali water of Lower Klamath Lake the previous night, the fresh, cold water of this spring was a real

luxury. There was plenty of dry wood and an abundance of green grass for our animals, and we enjoyed the camp exceedingly. Sitting around our fire that evening, we discussed the adventures of the past few days in this new and strange land. The circumstances of the last day had been particularly interesting. Our adventure in the rocks; the retreat of the whole Modoc tribe in a fleet of thirty or forty canoes across the lake from Goff; the singularity of the natural bridge; the vast fields of tule around the lake, and the fact that the lake was an independent body of water, were subjects of peculiar interest and only intensified our desire to see more of this then wild land.

July 7th, we left the valley of Tule Lake to pursue our course eastward, over a rocky table land, among scattering juniper trees. We still observed the timbered butte as our landmark, and traveled as directly toward it as the shape of the country would admit. This butte is near the State line, between Clear lake and Goose lake, and probably distant fifty miles from the lava ridge west of Lost river, from which we first observed it, and supposing it to be about thirty miles away. In pursuing our course we passed through the hilly, juniper country between Langell valley and Clear lake without seeing either the valley or lake, and at noon arrived at the bed of a stream where there was but little water. The course of the stream was north or northwest, and appearances indicated that at times quite a volume of water flowed in the channel. This was evidently the bed of Lost river, a few miles north of where this singular stream leaves the Clear river marsh.

Leaving this place, we pursued our journey through a similar country to that passed over during the forenoon, and encamped at a little spring among the junipers, near the base of the timbered hill, and passed a very pleasant night.

On the morning of July 8th, we passed our landmark and traveled nearly eastward, over a comparatively level but extremely rocky country, and nooned in the channel of another

stream, where there was a little water standing in holes. On leaving this place we found the country still quite level, but exceedingly rocky; for eight or ten miles almost like pavement. Late in the afternoon we came out into the basin of a lake (Goose lake), apparently forty or fifty miles in length. Traversing the valley about five miles along the south end of the lake, we came to a little stream coming in from the mountains to the eastward. The grass and water being good, we encamped here for the night. Game seemed plentiful, and one of the party killed a fine deer in the vicinity of the camp. From a spur of the mountains, near our camp, we had a splendid view of the lake and of the extensive valley bordering it on the north. On the east, between the lake and mountain range running nearly north and south, and which we supposed to be a spur of the Sierra Nevadas, was a beautiful meadow country, narrow, but many miles in length, across which the lines of willows and scattering pines and cottonwoods indicated the courses of a number of little streams coming into the lake from the mountain chain. A little southeast of our camp there appeared to be a gap in the mountain wall, and we decided to try it on the succeeding day.

July 9th we moved up the ridge towards the gap, and soon entered a little valley, perhaps containing a hundred acres, extending to the summit of the ridge, thus forming an excellent pass. The ascent was very gradual. The little valley was fringed with mountain-mahogany trees, giving it quite a picturesque appearance. This shrub, which is peculiar to the rocky highlands, is from fifteen to twenty feet high and in form something like a cherry tree, so that a grove of mountain mahogany strikingly resembles a cherry orchard. About the center of the little valley is a spring of cold water, making it an excellent camping place, and for many years afterwards it was the place where the immigrants were wont to meet and let their animals recuperate after the long, tiresome march across the so-called American Desert; for this Sierra ridge

separates the waters of the Pacific from those of the great basin which extends from the Blue mountains far southward towards the Colorado. The little stream on which we encamped before entering this pass is called Lassen creek, taking its name from Peter Lassen, who led a small party of immigrants across the plains in 1848, following our route from the Humboldt through this pass, thence down Pitt river to the Sacramento. From the summit of the ridge we had a splendid view. Northward the ridge seemed to widen out, forming several low ranges of timbered mountains, while southward it seemed to rise very high, as we could see patches of snow along the summit in the distance. East and south of us, at the foot of the ridge, was a beautiful green valley, twenty or thirty miles in extent, and containing a small lake. A number of small streams flowed from the mountain into and through the valley, affording an abundance of water for the wants of a settlement. This fertile valley on the border of the desert has since been called Surprise Valley, and now contains quite a population.

As we stood on the Sierra ridge, we surveyed the vast desert plains to the eastward of Surprise Valley, apparently without grass or trees, and marked by numerous high rocky ridges running north and south. After deciding on our course, we descended the mountain and soon came to a little stream, the banks of which were lined with plum bushes completely loaded with fruit. There was a grove of pines at hand, and there we decided to noon, as the day was extremely hot. Game seemed plentiful about this rich valley, and while we were nooning a large band of antelope grazed in sight of us. Spending about two hours among these pines, which were the last we saw during our long and weary march on the desert, we packed up and moved across the valley eastward. After crossing the valley we entered a very sandy district, where the traveling was laborious, and next ascended to a table land, the surface of which was covered with small gravel. By this time most

of our horses were barefooted, and our progress through the rocky country was consequently very slow. The country was so desert-like that we had about despaired of finding water that night, but just at dark we unexpectedly came to a little spring. There was but little water, but by digging some we were able to get quite enough for ourselves and horses, though it kept us busy until about midnight to get the horses watered. Although we had met with singularly good fortune in thus finding water at the close of the first day's march on the desert, we could not always expect such good luck in the future; and as we lay down in our blankets among the sagebrush that night, we could not help having some gloomy forebodings in regard to the future of our expedition.

FROM THE LITTLE SPRING ON THE DESERT TO BLACK ROCK.

On the morning of the 10th of July, we found an abundance of water in the basin we had scraped out at the little spring early in the night, so that we were able to start out on the desert much refreshed. Our horses, however, looked very gaunt as there was a great scarcity of grass about the spring. The landscape before us, as we made our start this morning, was anything but inviting. It was a vast sand plain. No trees or mountains were in sight. Far in the distance were some dark looking ridges. There was no vegetation excepting dwarf sage and grease wood growing in the sand and gravel. At about three o'clock in the afternoon we came to a huge volcanic wall, varying in height from twenty or thirty to several hundred feet, extending north and south as far as the eye could reach and apparently without any gap through it. We divided at the wall so as to explore it both ways. The party going southward, after proceeding a few miles, came to a little stream, forming a beautiful meadow at the base of the wall, and flowing through a narrow gateway into the ridge. They immediately dispatched one of their party in pursuit of us with the good news, and we returned to the meadow early in the afternoon, and decided to turn out our horses and give

them a chance to feed and rest, while we explored the defile on foot. We found it a very remarkable chasm, extending nearly due east. The gateway was about sixty yards in width and the canyon was, at some places, a little wider than that perhaps, and at others, was only wide enough for a wagon road. The little bottom was grassy and almost level, and, indeed, a remarkable track for a road. In many places, the cliffs on either side towered to a height of several hundred feet, and, in some places actually overhung the chasm. Those overhanging cliffs afforded excellent sheltering places for the Indians, and the signs betokened that it was a great place of resort for them. Sage hens and rabbits were plentiful, also mountain sheep, but the latter were so wild that we did not succeed in killing any of them. After making quite an extended trip into the canyon, we returned to the little meadow and spent the night.

On the morning of July 11, we again entered the gorge and traveled ten or twelve miles to a place where the stream formed quite a pool, and nooned. At this season, the stream ran no further than the pool. Here another canyon comes in from the north, and at the junction there is quite an area of level ground—perhaps two acres—mostly meadow, forming an excellent camping place. After noon we proceeded on our way, following the dry bed of the stream, and, after a march of perhaps ten miles, came out on the east side of the ridge. Here we found a lake basin of several acres in extent, where there was but a little water and a great deal of mud, hence strongly suggesting the name of Mud Lake, which it has since always borne. Earlier in the season, when the little stream that feeds it flows all the way through the canyon, this is doubtless quite a lake. The country eastward had a very forbidding appearance. Rising from a barren plain, perhaps fifteen miles away, was a rough, rocky ridge, extending as far as the eye could reach towards the north, but apparently terminating abruptly perhaps fifteen miles south of our course.

Along the base of the ridge, towards its extremity, were seen green spots, indicating water. After considering the situation pretty thoroughly, we concluded that it would be the surest plan to depart from our usual course and travel southward to the extremity of the ridge, as, by so doing, we would probably keep clear of the rocks and be more certain to find water. So we followed the dry outlet of the lake, in a southwesterly direction, for a distance of three or four miles and we camped at a little spring.

In this vicinity quite a tragedy occurred while Capt. Levi Scott, accompanied by a detachment of regular troops, was en route to meet the immigration of 1847. It was his intention to make an effort to hunt out a direct route from Mud Lake to Humboldt, thus saving the distance lost by our change of direction in 1846. It appears that Mr. Scott and a man named Garrison, leaving the train encamped at Mud Lake, started out in a due easterly direction towards the black ridge to ascertain the practicability of finding a way across it. When out about ten miles they came across two Indians. Not being able to talk with them, they undertook, through signs, to learn something about the country. The Indians appeared to be friendly, but, taking advantage of Scott and Garrison while they were off their guard, strung their bows and commenced shooting with great rapidity. Garrison was mortally wounded, and Scott, while in the act of firing, was shot through the arm with an arrow, which passing through, entered his side, pinning his arm to his body. Scott fired, however, killing his Indian and the other took to flight. Scott's were, fortunately, only flesh wounds, but Garrison had been pierced by two arrows and died soon after being conveyed to the camp. Thus the effort to make the cut-off failed, and to this day has never been made.

The little spring, where we encamped, furnished an abundance of water; the grass was good, but fuel extremely scarce, there being nothing in this line but dwarf sage brush.

On starting out on the morning of the 12th of July, we observed vast columns of smoke or steam rising at the extremity of the black ridge. Reaching the ridge a few miles north of its extremity, we traveled along its base, passing a number of springs, some cold and others boiling hot. At the end of the ridge we found an immense boiling springs from whence the steam was rising like smoke from a furnace. A large volume of water issued from the spring which irrigated several hundred acres of meadow. Although the water was strongly impregnated with alkali, it was fit for use when cooled, and the spot was, on the whole, a very good camping place for the desert. The cliffs, at the extremity of the ridge, were formed of immense masses of black volcanic rock and all about were vast piles of cinders, resembling those from a blacksmith's forge. This place has ever since been known as "Black Rock," and is one of the most noted landmarks on the Humboldt desert. At this place we rested a day and consulted as to the best course to pursue in order to reach the Humboldt, or, as it was then called, Ogden's river. The result of the council was that we agreed to separate, one party to travel eastward and the other to pursue a more southerly direction.

In pursuance of the plan decided on at Black Rock, on the morning of July 14th, we separated into two parties; eight men starting out in a southerly direction and seven men, including myself, towards the east. The country before us appeared very much like the dry bed of a lake. Scarcely a spear of vegetation could be seen, and the whole country was white with alkali. After traveling about fifteen miles we began to discover dim rabbit trails running in the same direction in which we were traveling. As we advanced the trails became more plain, and there were others constantly coming in, all pointing in the general direction toward a ledge of granite boulders which we could see before us. Approaching the ledge, which was the first granite we had seen since leaving Rogue river valley, we could see a green mound where all the trails

seemed to enter, and on examining the place closely we found a small hole in the top of the mound, in which a little puddle of water stood within a few inches of the surface. This was a happy discovery for we were already suffering considerably for want of water and our horses were well nigh exhausted. The day had been an exceedingly hot one and the heat reflected from the shining beds of alkali, had been very oppressive. The alkali water at Black Rock had only given us temporary relief—our thirst was really more intense from having used it. Unpacking our horses, we staked them in the bunch grass about the granite ledge, and began digging down after the little vein of water which formed the puddle in the rabbit hole. The water seemed to be confined to a tough clay or muck which came near the surface in the center of the mound, thus preventing it from wasting away in the sand. Digging down in this clay we made a basin large enough to hold several gallons and by dark we had quite a supply of good pure water. We then began issuing it to our horses, a little at a time, and by morning men and horses were considerably refreshed. Great numbers of rabbits came around us and we killed all we wanted of them. This is the place always since known as the Rabbit Hole Springs.

Looking eastward, on the morning of July 15th, from the elevated table lands upon which we then were, we saw vast clouds of smoke, completely shutting out the distant landscape. The wind blowing almost constantly from the southwest, kept the smoke blown away so that we could get a tolerably good view towards the south. Our wish was to continue our course eastward, but the country, as far as we could see in that direction, being a barren plain, we concluded to follow the granite ledge, which extended in a southeasterly direction from the spring, believing the chances of finding water would be better by following that route. The smoke, as we afterwards learned, was caused by the burning of peat beds along the Humboldt river, the stream we were now wishing to find, though we

had no correct idea of the distance we would have to travel in order to reach it, nor of the difficulties to be encountered. Pursuing our way along the ridge, searching everywhere carefully for water, at about eleven o'clock A. M. we observed the rabbit trails all leading in the same direction, and following the course indicated, we found a basin in the side of a rock large enough to hold a few gallons of water. Into this basin the water oozed from a crevice in the rock, very slowly, so that when the basin was emptied it was a long time filling. There was no way of improving this spring, for whenever the basin was full and the water running over, it would waste in the loose gravel and sand, and we did not get a sufficiency of it for ourselves and horses until late at night. Appearances indicated that it was a great resort for Indians, though there did not seem to be any in the vicinity while we were there. During the afternoon and evening, great numbers of little birds came for water, and were so tame that we could almost put our hands on them.

On the morning of July 16th, we proceeded along the ridge for four or five miles and came to quite a large spring, but so strongly impregnated with alkali that we could only use it in making coffee. Here we rested an hour or so while our horses grazed. This morning we passed over a country abounding in quartz. At this spring our granite ridge terminated, and before us was a vast desert plain, without a spear of vegetation, and covered with an alkaline efflorescence which glittered beneath the scorching rays of the sun. The heat was intense as we rode slowly out to the eastward upon the great plain. After we had traveled a few miles, we observed what was supposed to be a lake, even fancying that we could see the waves upon its surface, but after riding in that direction awhile, we discovered that it was only one of those optical illusions so often experienced on the desert. Next, we saw what we supposed to be a clump of willows to the eastward and rode in that direction with all possible dispatch, but, on nearing the place, we

discovered, to our intense disappointment, that it was only a pile of black volcanic rocks, fifteen or twenty feet high. The sun was now getting quite low, and the heat was somewhat abating, yet it remained quite hot as we rode a few miles to the eastward on the desert. As night closed in upon us we selected our camping place in a little sag where there were some strong sage bushes growing. To these we tied our horses securely, for, as there was not a blade of grass and they were suffering for water, we knew they would leave us, should they break away from their fastenings. The only camp duty we had to perform that night was to spread our blankets down upon the loose sand. Then we stretched ourselves upon them, with little hope of rest, for our thirst had by that time become intense; worse, no doubt, from reason of our having drank the strong alkali water that morning. Our reflections that night were gloomy in the extreme. Even if we could have heard the cry of a night bird or the familiar note of a coyote it would have given us encouragement, for it would have indicated the presence of water somewhere in the vicinity; but not a sound was heard during the livelong night except our own voices and the restless tramp of the half-famished horses.

As we started out on the morning of July 17th to the eastward we could see only a short distance on account of the dense clouds of smoke which enveloped the country. We spent much of the day in searching in various places for water and at about four o'clock in the afternoon we came to some ledges of rock. They afforded a shelter from the scorching rays of the sun, and we halted to rest for a while as some of the party were now so exhausted that they could scarcely ride. From the top of the rocks we could discern a small greenish spot on the desert, five or six miles distant, and, hoping to find water there, we decided to ride towards it. Robert Smith was now suffering severely from a pain in the head, and, as he was not able to ride, we were compelled to leave him under the rocks, with the understanding that he would follow us as soon as he

felt able to ride. After going four or five miles, we beheld a horseman approaching us. This soon proved to be John Jones, one of the party who left us at Black Rock on the morning of the 14th. He had found water at the place we were making for, and, in searching for the rest of his party, had accidentally fallen in with us. We of course made a "stampede" for the water. On our arrival there two of the party, filling a large horn with water, started on their return with it to Smith. They met him on the way, hanging on to the horn of his saddle, while his horse was following our trail. By the time they returned the other party also arrived, so that, at about six P. M., we found ourselves all together again. The other party had fared almost as badly as we had, not having had any water since ten o'clock in the forenoon of the day before.

Although a Godsend to us, this water was almost as bad as one could imagine. It was in the bed of a little alkali lake, thickly studded with reeds. There were about four inches of strong alkali water resting upon a bed of thin mud, and it was so warm and nauseating that it was impossible for some of the party to retain a stomach-full very long at a time. It was a grand relief to our poor horses to have an abundance of water and grass once more, and, tired as they were, they worked busily all night upon the reeds and grasses about the little lake. Much exhausted, we retired early, and arose considerably refreshed the next morning.

On the morning of July 18, our course was nearly southeast along the edge of a vast level plain to our right. Immense columns of smoke were still rising in front of us, and at about ten or eleven o'clock we came to places where peat bogs were on fire. These fires extended for miles along the valley of the Humboldt river, for we were now in the near vicinity of that stream, and at noon had the great satisfaction of encamping upon its banks. We found this sluggish stream about thirty feet wide, and the water strongly alkaline and of a milky hue. Along its banks were clumps of willows, affording us an abund-

ance of fuel, and as there was plenty of grass for our horses, our camp was a good one. Since leaving Rabbit Hole Springs we had traveled much too far south of our course to satisfy us, and our desire was now to travel up the Humboldt until we should reach a point nearly east of Black Rock, and endeavor to find a route for the road more directly on our old course.

On July 19, we traveled perhaps twenty miles in a northeasterly direction along the river bottom, and encamped. The next day, July 20, we pursued our way along the river, on a good, easy route, making about the same distance as the day before. On the 21st we continued our march up the river and at noon came to a point where the river bottom widened out into quite an extensive meadow district. From this point we could see what appeared to be a low pass through the ridge on the west, through which was a channel of a tributary of the Humboldt, now dry. Here we decided to encamp and send out a party to examine the country towards Black Rock.

We had nothing in which to carry water but a large powder horn, so we thought it best not to risk sending out too large a party. On the morning of the 22nd of July, Levi Scott and William Parker left us, and, following the dry channel of the stream for about fifteen miles, they came to a beautiful spring of pure water. Here they passed the night, and the next day, July 23rd, they ascended by a very gradual route to the table lands to the westward, and within about fifteen miles of their camp of the previous night, they entered quite a grassy district from which they could plainly see Black Rock. Exploring the country about them carefully they found the Rabbit Hole Springs. The line of our road was now complete. We had succeeded in finding a route across the desert and on to the Oregon settlements, with camping places at suitable distances, and, since we knew the source of the Humboldt river was near Fort Hall, we felt that our enterprise was already a success, and that immigrants could be able to reach Oregon late in

the season with far less danger of being snowed in than on the California route down the Humboldt and over the Sierra Nevadas. The sequel proved that we were correct in this opinion, for this same fall the Donner party, in endeavoring to cross the Sierras, were snowed in, suffered the most indescribable horrors, and about half of them perished.

The Humboldt Meadows affording us a splendid camping place, we concluded to remain there and recruit our jaded animals for a few days before pursuing our journey farther.

FROM HUMBOLDT MEADOWS TO FORT HALL AND BACK TO BLACK ROCK.

Our object was to locate the road direct from near the head of the Humboldt to Bear river, leaving Fort Hall forty or sixty miles to the northward. Our stock of provisions being almost exhausted, we decided to dispatch a party, with the strongest animals, to Fort Hall at once, for supplies, while the rest of us would move along more slowly, making such improvements on the road as seemed necessary, and perhaps reaching the head of the river in time to meet the Fort Hall party there on its return. Accordingly, on the morning of the 25th of July, Jesse Applegate, Moses Harris, Henry Boygus, David Goff and John Owens, left us for Fort Hall. The place decided on for the reunion of the party was known as Hot Spring or Thousand Spring Valley, on the Humboldt. I shall not undertake, after this date, to give a detailed statement of our experiences, until the conclusion of our journey in the fall, only mentioning the most important incidents of the long and wearisome campaign.

The journey up the Humboldt, through a country so uniformly alike the entire distance, was quite monotonous. The sluggish stream, fringed with willows on either side, flowed through a narrow valley bounded by dry volcanic ridges, gradually increased in volume as we advanced towards its source, as the water wastes away in the dry, sandy region through

which it flows. Like the Nile, this stream rises sufficiently every year to overflow and fertilize its valley, so that it produces the finest grass. Since 1843, immigrants had occasionally traveled down this stream to its sink, and had thence crossed the high, snowy range of the Sierra Nevada, from Truckee run via Donner lake, to the Sacramento valley; and as we proceeded up the river, we frequently met small parties, like ourselves, sunburned and covered with alkali dust, and worn and wearied by the long and difficult journey.

Game was our principal dependence for food, and this we found exceedingly scarce along the Humboldt, and the thousands of Indians who inhabited the valley at this season seemed to subsist chiefly upon grasshoppers and crickets, which were abundant.

One day, during our march through this country, Capt. Scott and myself, leaving the party on the west side, crossed the river for the purpose of hunting, and, while pursuing a band of antelope, came upon wagon tracks, leading away from the river towards a rocky gulch among the hills, two or three miles distant. Several wagons seemed to have been in the train, and on either side of the plain tracks made by the wagon wheels in the loose sand were numerous bare-foot tracks. Following the trail into the mouth of the gulch, we found where the wagons had been burned, only the ruins being left among the ashes. We found no human remains, yet the evidences were plain that a small train of immigrants had been taken here not a great while before, and that they had perished at the hands of their blood-thirsty captors, not one having escaped to recite the awful tale of horror. Possibly the bodies of the victims had been thrust into the river. Possibly the drivers had been compelled to drive their teams across the sage plains into this wild ravine, here to be slaughtered and their bodies burned. By a more extended search along the river and among the hills, we might possibly have found some of the bodies of the victims, and might have obtained some clue as to who the ill-fated

immigrants were, but even this was not practicable at the time, and we could only hurry on with sad hearts to overtake the train far up the river.

On the 5th of August, we reached Hot Spring valley, having traveled, as nearly as we could judge, about two hundred miles along the river. On the 10th the Fort Hall party returned to us with a supply of provisions, and on the 11th we turned our faces towards our homes, which we judged to be eight or nine hundred miles distant.

Before the party of five reached Fort Hall, one of them, young Boygus, hearing that a son of Capt. Grant, commander of Fort Hall, had recently started for Canada, via St. Louis, concluded to leave the party and, by forced marches, endeavor to overtake Grant, as he was anxious to return to his home in Missouri. Boygus was brave and determined, and expecting to meet immigrants occasionally, he set out alone on his hazardous undertaking. We never heard of him afterwards, and his fate has always remained a mystery. There was, perhaps, truth in the report current afterwards that his gun and horses were seen in the possession of an Indian at Fort Hall, and it is most likely that he was followed by Indians from the very moment he left his companions and slain, as many a poor fellow has been, while all alone upon the great plains.

At Fort Hall the party of four met with a considerable train of immigrants, with some of whom they were acquainted, who decided to come to Oregon by way of our route. This train closely followed our companions on their return, and reached Hot Spring valley before our departure. Before starting on the morning of July 11th, a small party of young men from the immigrant train generously volunteered to accompany us and assist in opening the road. These were: Thomas Powers, Burges, Shaw, Carnahan, Alfred Stewart, Charles Putnam, and two others whose names I now disremember. A Bannock Indian, from about the head of Snake River, also joined us. This increased our road party to twenty-one men, exclusive

of Scott and Goff, who remained to guide and otherwise assist the immigrants on their way to Oregon.

Nothing worthy of mention occurred during our return along the valley of the Humboldt, and not until we left the river and proceeded westward towards Black Rock. The first night after leaving the river we spent at the spring found by Scott and Parker, on the 22nd of July. This we called Diamond Spring. Reaching this point about noon, we spent several hours in digging out a basin at the spring, which soon filled with pure, cold water.

Fifteen miles travel the next day over a good route, brought us at noon to the Rabbit Hole Springs. We soon improved this spring considerably, and, at about two P. M., took up our line of march for Black Rock, which we reached at nightfall. After we were out two or three miles from Diamond Springs this morning, our Bannock Indian discovered that he had left his butcher-knife and, tying his pony to a sage-brush, started back to the spring on a run, supposing he could easily overtake us, as we would be delayed considerably at Rabbit Hole Springs; at any rate, he would have no trouble in following our trail. We saw him no more, and conjectured that he must have fallen a prey to the Diggers, who continually shadowed us as we traveled through their country, always ready to profit by any advantage given them.

No circumstances worthy of mention occurred on the monotonous march from Black Rock to the timbered regions of the Cascade chain; then our labors became quite arduous. Every day we kept guard over the horses while we worked the road, and at night we dared not cease our vigilance, for the Indians continually hovered about us, seeking for advantage. By the time we had worked our way through the mountains to the Rogue river valley, and then through the Grave Creek Hills and Umpqua chain, we were pretty thoroughly worn out. Our stock of provisions had grown very short, and we had to depend, to a great extent, for sustenance, upon game. Road working, hunting, and guard duty had taxed our strength

greatly, and on our arrival in the Umpqua valley, knowing that the greatest difficulties in the way of immigrants had been removed, we decided to proceed at once to our home in the Willamette. There we arrived on the 3rd day of October, 1846, having been absent three months and thirteen days. During all this time our friends had heard nothing from us, and realizing the dangerous character of our expedition, many believed in the news which some time before reached them, that we had all been murdered by the Indians.

As soon as we could possibly make the arrangement, we sent out a party with oxen and horses, to meet the immigrants and aid them in reaching the Willamette settlements. For this assistance we made no demand, nor did we tax them for the use of the road, as was alleged by parties inimical to our enterprise. It had been the distinct understanding that the road should be free, and the consciousness of having opened a better means of access to the country than was afforded by the expensive and dangerous route down the Columbia, which we had tried to our sorrow, would be ample compensation for all our labors and hardships in opening the South road.

Of course our enterprise was opposed by that mighty monopoly, the Hudson's Bay Company, whose line of forts and trading posts on the Columbia afford them rare opportunities for trade with the immigrants. Many of the immigrants who followed us during the fall of 1846 had a hard time, though not as hard as they would likely have experienced on the other route; and some of them, not understanding the situation fully, became infected with the spirit of persecution, which had its origin with the Hudson's Bay Company, and joined in charging us with leading the travel away from the northern route for purposes of personal speculation. Certain members of the party were singled out to bear the burden of persecution, whereas, if any member of the party was animated by improper motives in seeking to open the road, all were equally guilty, as the party was governed in all its proceedings by a majority vote of its members.

The efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company to put down the road, proved an eminent failure. Its superior advantages were better and better known and appreciated every year. It never ceased to be an important route of travel, and a large portion of the population of our State entered by this channel. It is a very significant fact that the great thoroughfare of today, from the Willamette to the Siskiyou chain, and thence out through the Lake country and on to the Humboldt, departs rarely from the route blazed out by the road company, thirty-two years ago.

Those who are conversant with the facts, know that that portion of the route, from the Humboldt to the Lake country presents no serious obstacles in the way of the construction of a railroad, and had the Central Pacific company located their road on that route, from Humboldt as far as Goose lake, and thence down Pitt river to the Sacramento valley, they would doubtless have saved millions of money in the original cost of the road, as well as in keeping it in order, since the snowfall would never have been seriously in the way, even in the severest winters.

In conclusion, I will recall the names of the road company, with a few facts relative to their history. I regret that it is not practicable to make this record more ample, but the company was made up, almost to a man, of active, energetic characters, who were not satisfied with a quiet, spiritless life, and many of them long ago were lost to the little community, "over in Polk," where they first settled, as they moved to other portions of the State or went out into adjacent territories to seek their fortunes. Under the circumstances, it has been impracticable to learn the whereabouts of some of them, or to gather such facts relative to their later history as would amplify and add interest to their biographies. Perhaps few companies of men ever performed such a campaign without repeated quarrels and even serious altercations, but the members of the Old South Road Company bore together the trials and privations of the expedition with a "forgiving and forbearing" spirit, and their

mutual burdens and the dangers to which they were exposed, continually developed and strengthened their friendship. A reunion of them, were such a thing practicable, would be a season of peculiar joy, one to be remembered by the veteran survivors with pleasure, until they, too, shall pass away into the great unknown.

THE ROAD COMPANY.

Capt. Levi Scott, a native of Illinois, came to Oregon in 1844, from near Burlington, Iowa. He was in the early days quite a prominent man in Oregon affairs. He was a member of the State constitutional convention. Capt. Scott located Scottsburg, on the Umpqua river. He is now over eighty years of age, and, I believe, resides in Lane County.

John Jones, usually known as "Jack" Jones, the wag of the south road expedition, came to Oregon from Missouri in 1843. Since then, he has been quite a wanderer. For many years he resided in California, and, if living, is now in Idaho, I believe. Native State, Missouri.

John Owens crossed the plains in 1843 from Missouri. He was, I think, a native of that State. Have no knowledge of his whereabouts.

Henry Boygus came from Missouri in 1843. He was a fine looking, jovial and intelligent young man, and we were all much attached to him. Was probably murdered by Indians, near Fort Hall, after he left us, in 1846, to return to his home in Missouri. Native State, Missouri.

William Sportsman crossed the plains in 1845, from Missouri, which was, I think, his native State. He left Oregon in 1847, and I have no knowledge of his whereabouts.

Samuel Goodhue, a native of New York, came to Oregon in 1844. He afterwards became a son-in-law of — Davidson, the old pioneer, and a number of years resided about Salem. When I last heard of him, he was in Ohio.

Robert Smith came to Oregon in 1843 from Missouri. Native State, Virginia. He now resides at the head of the Yon-

calla valley, in Douglas county. Mr. Smith is a son-in-law of Charles Applegate, and brother to Mrs. Governor Chadwick.

Moses Harris, called "Black Harris," came to Oregon in 1844, from the Rocky mountains, where he had been a scout and trapper for many years. He spoke the Snake language fluently, and was of great service to us on the plains. He returned to the States in 1847, as guide to Dr. White, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, and died in Independence, Mo.

John Scott, a son of Capt. Levi Scott, came to Oregon with his father in 1844. He now resides near Dallas, Polk county, Oregon.

William G. Parker, a native of Missouri, came to Oregon in 1843. He resided many years in California, but is now a resident of Lake county, Oregon, and keeps the Half-Way House, on the road from Ashland to Linkville. Mr. Parker is a son-in-law of Capt. Solomon Tetherton, the old mountain man, and a brother to Mrs. Jesse Applegate.

David Goff came to Oregon from Missouri in 1845. He resided in Polk County, Oregon, until his death, which occurred, I believe, in 1874, and was universally respected. He was the father-in-law of Gen. J. W. Nesmith.

Benjamin F. Burch came to Oregon from his native State, Missouri, in 1845. Mr. Burch has long been a prominent man in Oregon affairs. He now resides at Salem, and is Superintendent of the State Penitentiary.

Jesse Applegate was born in Kentucky, and came to Oregon in 1843. He now resides on Mount Yoncalla, in Douglas county, Oregon.

Lindsay Applegate, also a native of Kentucky, came to Oregon in 1843. Now a resident of Ashland, Jackson county, Oregon.

With the consciousness that I have endeavored faithfully and impartially, though briefly, to relate the history of the

South Road expedition, I close this narrative, hoping that my effort to preserve this much of this history of the early days may inspire other "old timers" to relate their experiences also. I am fully aware that memory is uncertain, and that a number of errors may have occurred in my narrative from this reason, but I place it before the people with confidence that it is, in the main, correct. In doing so, I ask no other reward for the labor of the preparation, than that its perusal may cause the people to think more kindly of the old pioneers.

THE FIRST STAGE OF THE FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST, 1849-1852.*

By C. F. COAN, University of New Mexico

A SUMMARY OF INDIAN RELATIONS PRIOR TO 1849

The intermingling of the Indians and the whites in the Pacific Northwest during the three-quarters of a century from 1774 to 1849 resulted in the races gradually becoming acquainted and the creation by the latter date of a serious Indian problem which had to be met by armed force. From 1774 to 1811 the contact was comparatively slight, but this was greatly increased during the years from 1811 to 1842. By 1849 there were few Indians in the region who were not familiar with white men.

The explorers, both along the coast and in the interior, had no conflicts with the natives of a serious nature. The coast traders were not so fortunate. The Nootka Sound Indians successfully expelled the traders from Vancouver Island. Prior to 1811, the Indians along the Pacific Coast had become acquainted with the whites and had had a number of conflicts with them. However, no continued association had resulted because no permanent trading post or settlement had been established. In the interior along the Columbia river, the Indians had met a few explorers but the contact was very much less than that along the coast.

The increased intercourse which followed the date 1811 was due to the organized effort of well established companies to exploit the most obvious natural resources of the region.

The elimination in 1813 of the American company and in 1821 of the "Northwesters" gave the control into the hands of the highly favored and highly organized Hudson's Bay Company. Prior to the coming of the company, the character of

*The investigation of this subject was begun in the Seminar of Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, University of California. Through his aid and that of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson the documents were obtained upon which this paper is based.

the Indians in a large part of the interior had been determined. Along the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains the hostile Indians made the gathering of beaver an extremely dangerous occupation; in the Flathead, Kutenai, Spokane, Okanogan regions, peace was the general rule; the Snake Valley was famous for its dangers; the Indians at the portages of the Columbia River were at first very bothersome but they were taught to accept the presents given them for their services, and not to commit robberies; the Wallawalla, Nez Percés, and the Cayuse appear to have been neither so thievish as the "portage" Indians nor so fierce as the Blackfeet and the mountain Snake, nor so friendly as the Indians of the Flathead and the Spokane country; as for the Indians of the eastern part of Oregon, southwestern Oregon, and the Puget Sound country—their attitude toward the traders was little known to the "Northwesters."

Although the North West Company established a number of forts, and conducted "brigades" into the Snake country the organization was not so complete as that of the Hudson's Bay Company in the period between 1824 and 1836. It was during this period that the company developed its trade over the greatest extent of territory west of the Rocky Mountains. Within the Pacific Northwest they came into contact with a number of groups of natives not met by the early companies and increased their dealings with those already known. The Snake expeditions met the dangerous Modoc and the mountain Snake. The southern "brigade" passed through southwestern Oregon where the Indians were by reputation hostile. Forts were now established in the Puget Sound country, where the Indians were found to be peaceable. Farther north on Vancouver Island a strong fort was necessary to protect the traders against unfriendly Indians.

The missionary efforts—that introduced into the region a group of men whose main purpose in life was to help the Indians to become a civilized, settled people through religion

and agriculture—were organized in 1834, 1836, 1838, and 1841, preceding the period of the coming of the American settlers by a few years, and at the beginning of the decline in the quantity of beaver procured by the trappers, and the decline in price. Both Whitman and De Smet felt that the flood of emigrants would flow into the country long before the work of teaching the Indians the ways of settled life could be accomplished, which proved to be the case.

Before the Annexation of Texas and the Mexican Cession there was no outlet for the frontier population so desirable as Oregon. This resulted in an immigration across the Plains to the Pacific Northwest between 1842 and 1847 of about seven thousand people. The influx of this population, and the delay of the United States in organizing the territorial government of Oregon until 1849, resulted in the occupation of the Willamette Valley by settlers without any provision whatsoever being made for the Indians. The western Indians were not strong enough to prevent the settlement of their country. The Indians east of the Cascade Mountains, however, were of a different type. They refused to allow settlers to stop in the interior; emigrants must go on to the coast. This feeling against the settlers, and a desire to drive them out of the country, resulted in the Whitman Massacre and the Cayuse Indian War. The population had arrived before the military protection of the Federal government. This, together with the fact that during the period of settlement, 1842-1847, there was no government, other than a provisional one, organized by the settlers, resulted in a conflict over the occupation of the land prior to the organization of the territorial government by the United States.

Indian relations in Oregon had thus reached a rather advanced stage at the time the United States took up the matter of adopting an Indian policy and yet the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote to I. I. Stevens that there was very little information in the Indian Office, May 3, 1853, on the subject

of Indian affairs in the newly created territory of Washington. Lack of interest in the subject, distance from the seat of government, and the difficulty of obtaining information, must be called in to explain this fact. It is clear that the Indians had had extended contact with the whites, and I think it is probably true that they had determined to eliminate the Americans from the interior of the country.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOSEPH LANE

When the territory of Oregon was organized, March 2, 1849, the Federal government took over the management of Indian affairs. During the term of the first governor, Joseph Lane, recommendations were made for the removal of all the Indians west of the Cascade Mountains to the country east of those mountains. The few difficulties that occurred were promptly settled.

The Act creating the territory provided that the governor should be, ex-officio, superintendent of Indian affairs; that the rights of the Indians and the authority of the Federal government over them should be the same as previous to the passage of the Act; and that \$10,000 be appropriated for presents to the Indians and pay for the messengers sent to Congress by the provisional government of Oregon.¹ Of this sum, \$3000 was used for Indian purposes.² In order that agents be appointed, it was necessary that a provision be made for them by an Act of Congress, but the Secretary of the Interior could appoint sub-agents. Since Congress did not provide for agents, the Secretary of the Interior appointed three sub-agents for Oregon Territory.³ A further appropriation of \$10,000 for Indian purposes in Oregon was authorized by Congress, May 15, 1850.⁴ In urging that this appropriation be made, the delegate from Oregon, Samuel Thurston, stated that it was necessary that presents be made to the Indians of the Willamette Valley to keep them quiet until the government purchased their rights to the land. No

¹ "An Act to Establish the Territorial Government of Oregon, Aug. 14, 1848, *Statutes at Large*, IX, 323.

² "Indians in Oregon," *Congressional Globe*, Mar. 22, 1850, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 582.

³ Secretary of the Interior, *Annual Report*, Dec. 3, 1849 (Serial 570, Doc. 5), p. 15.

⁴ "An Act to Supply Deficiencies in Appropriations," May 15, 1850, *Statutes at Large*, IX, 427.

further provision was made for the Indian service prior to the Act of June 5, 1850, which constituted the Indian policy of Samuel Thurston.⁵

Shortly after Lane's arrival, March 2, 1849, large numbers of the Willamette Valley Indians visited him expecting presents and pay for their lands, which the settlers had promised them when the representative of the "Great Father," the President, should arrive. The Indians were greatly disappointed to find that there had been no provision made to pay them for their lands, but since they were not strong enough to enforce their demands, they could merely continue to repeat them.⁶

Outside the Willamette Valley, Indian troubles were successfully managed. These were more numerous than formerly due to the steady increase in the number of whites and the beginning of settlements along the Columbia River, in the Puget Sound country, and in the valleys of southwestern Oregon.

Lane held a council, April, 1849, with some of the interior Indians at The Dalles for the purpose of making presents to them and establishing friendly relations which would protect the emigrants from attacks on their way down the Columbia, and keep the Indians from joining the hostile Cayuse against the settlers. The Cayuse were informed that they must either surrender those guilty of the Whitman Massacre, or be exterminated.⁷ The Indians gathered at The Dalles agreed to maintain peaceful relations with the whites, in and passing through their country. Presents to the amount of two hundred dollars were distributed among them. Incidentally, at this time, Lane brought to a close a tribal war between the Wallawalla and the Yakima Indians.⁸

After the meeting at The Dalles, Lane visited the Cowlitz Indians. While there, he received word that Wallace, an American settler, had been killed by the Snoqualmu Indians near Fort Nisqually. A company of the regular army forces, which had recently arrived in the territory, was immediately

⁵ "Indians in Oregon," *op. cit.*, p. 583.

⁶ Joseph Lane to the Secretary of War, Oct. 13, 1849, C. I. A., *A. R.*, Nov. 27, 1850 (Serial 595, Doc. 1), p. 156, first paging. The abbreviation "C. I. A., *A. R.*," is used for, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*.

⁷ *Message of the Governor of Oregon Territory Transmitted to the Legislative Assembly*, May 7, 1850, p. 2.

⁸ Lane to the Secretary of War, Oct. 13, 1849, *op. cit.*, p. 156, first paging.

stationed at Fort Steilacom,⁹ and an Indian sub-agent was sent to the district, May, 1849, to obtain the surrender of the guilty Indians. The sub-agent offered a reward for the capture of the murderers of Wallace which caused the Snoqualmu Indians to deliver to the military authorities several of their tribe. These Indians were tried by a territorial court, and two of them were found guilty and hanged. Lane believed that this punishment of the Indians for an offence against the whites had the effect of making them fear the Americans, which was necessary for the peace of the scattered, unprotected settlements.¹⁰

In the spring of 1850, the standing hostilities between the war party of the Cayuse Indians and the whites was brought to a close by the surrender of the Indians who had led the attack upon the Waiilatpu Mission. In February, Lane received information from the Hudson's Bay Company's post, Fort Walla Walla, that the Indians had agreed to give up the murderers.¹¹ Their decision may have been due to the increase in the number of soldiers in the country. The Regiment of Mounted Riflemen arrived in Oregon in the fall of 1849. Five of the Cayuse Indians were taken to Oregon City for trial. They were convicted and hanged, June 3, 1850. The Cayuse had thus accepted the terms of the government. The respect for Americans was increased among the Indians of the interior, and the prestige of the Cayuse among the tribes of upper Oregon was greatly diminished.

Lane's last important dealing with the Indians outside of the Willamette Valley was a peace treaty with a band of one hundred and fifty Indians in the upper Rogue River Valley. In the spring of 1850 a party of miners, who were returning from California, were robbed at the ferry of Rogue River.¹² They requested that Lane attempt to recover the gold dust which the Indians had stolen. Lane visited the Indians and the peace treaty which was made provided that the Indians should restore all stolen property, and that whites passing through the country should not be molested. The Indians

⁹ Adjutant General, *Annual Report*, Nov. 28, 1849 (Serial 549, Doc. 1), p. 182.

¹⁰ Lane to the Secretary of War, Oct. 13, 1849, *op. cit.*, p. 156, first paging.

¹¹ *Message of the Governor* . . . , May 7, 1850, p. 3.

¹² Lane, *Narratives*, MS. (Bancroft Collection), p. 90.

were promised that any lands settled upon by newcomers would be paid for by the government, and that an agent would be sent among them to care for their interests. Lane gave to each member of the band a paper, signed "Jo Lane," for the purpose of informing the whites that these Indians had made a peace treaty with the government.¹³ No further trouble occurred in this vicinity until the fall of the following year.

Thus, the governor, in his ex-officio duties as the superintendent of Indian affairs, succeeded in establishing and maintaining amicable relations between the races. No policy was adopted further than that involved in making peace treaties with the Indians, in giving presents to them, and in prompt punishment for offences committed by the Indians against the settlers.

A statement of the complaints of the Indians living in the Willamette Valley was made by Lane in a report to the government, April 9, 1849. The Indians stated that the whites had taken their lands, brought sickness among them, and killed off the game. In return, they had received only promises that the government would pay them for their lands. In order to remove these causes for dissatisfaction, Lane recommended that the government buy their lands, and locate them out of the settlements. No suggestion was made as to where or how they should be removed, but the opinion held by Lane was, that there was no longer a place for them in the Willamette Valley.¹⁴

Lane recommended in his message to the legislative assembly of Oregon Territory, July 17, 1849, that they memorialize Congress for the removal of the Willamette Valley Indians. He stated that the Indians whom he had visited in the valley, as well as in other parts, were well disposed toward the whites and desirous of selling their rights to the land; and that the Indians of the Willamette Valley should be removed to some district remote from the settlements, because the destruction of the roots, grasses, and game by the settlers in the valley forced the Indians either to steal or starve.¹⁵

¹³ Victor, *The Early Indian Wars of Oregon*, p. 269.

¹⁴ Lane to the Secretary of War, April 9, 1849, *Message from the President in answer to a resolution of the Senate, calling for further information in relation to the formation of a state government in California; and also, in Oregon*, May 22, 1850 (Serial 561, Doc. 52), p. 5.

¹⁵ Message of Governor Lane, July 17, 1849, *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Following the recommendation of the governor, the legislative assembly memorialized Congress, July 20, 1849, for the purchase of the Indians' rights to the land; and for the removal of the Indians from the district needed for settlement, namely: the Willamette Valley. The memorial also stated that the Indians had been promised payment for their lands, and that it was the custom of the government to pay the Indians prior to the settlement of a region. Three reasons were given for the need of removing the Indians from the settlements: the absence of a large number of the men of the valley, who had gone to the California mines; the moral and civil interests of the communities; and the necessity of some humane provision for these Indians by the government, in some place remote from the settlements, since they were no longer able to take care of themselves, and were degenerating through contact with the whites. The conclusion was that the Indians should be colonized in some region distant from the growing population of the Willamette Valley.¹⁶

For the Indian service in Oregon, Lane suggested the establishment of two agencies: one for the Puget Sound region, and one for the Grande Ronde Valley in upper Oregon; and two sub-agencies; one in the Umpqua Valley, and one near Fort Hall. This plan would have placed representatives of the Indian bureau along the emigrant trail in the interior of Oregon, as well as in the Puget Sound country, and the valley south of the Willamette Valley.¹⁷

THE CONGRESSIONAL POLICY OF THE ACT OF JUNE 5, 1850

While Lane was dealing with the Indians in Oregon and making recommendations for the future treatment of the Indians, Samuel Thurston, the delegate to Congress from Oregon, was planning to have all the Indians west of the Cascade Mountains moved to the country east of those mountains. The Secretary of the Interior, December 3, 1849, urged Congress to make an appropriation for the conduct of Indian affairs in Oregon, and to authorize the appointment of a num-

¹⁶ *Memorial of the legislature of Oregon praying for the extinguishment of the Indian title* . . . July 20, 1849 (Serial 592, Doc. 5), p. 1.

¹⁷ Lane to the Secretary of War, Oct. 13, 1849, *op. cit.*, p. 161, first paging.

ber of agents,¹⁸ but Thurston was evidently not satisfied with only more appropriations and more agents. During the early part of 1850, he wrote:

The Committee on Indian Affairs in the Senate have the subject of extinguishing the Indian title to lands in Oregon before them, and have promised me to report a bill soon for the extinguishment of their title to all of that part of Oregon lying west of the Cascade Mountains, and for the removal of the Indians east of those mountains. I am in hopes that it will pass Congress in the course of next summer, and all the country at present and for some time to come, needed for settlement, will be thrown open to the immigrant and thus the first pre-requisite step will have been taken preparatory to the final disposition of the soil.¹⁹

It was, thus, planned to extinguish the Indian title before donating lands to settlers.

The Act of Congress of June 5, 1850, provided for the negotiation of treaties, and the reorganization of the Indian services, in Oregon. Three commissioners were to be appointed with the authority to treat with the Indians west of the Cascade Mountains; for their lands, and for their removal to lands east of those mountains. An appropriation of \$20,000 was authorized to pay the expenses of the commission. The law also provided for the extension of the laws regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains to the Indians in Oregon; the creation of the office of superintendent of Indian affairs of Oregon, thus separating these duties from the duties of the office of governor; and the appointment of three agents.²⁰ It was understood that three sub-agents would be appointed as formerly. Thurston stated that this act provided for the efficient management of the Indians and made it certain that there would not be the least trouble with them in the future.²¹

Nineteen treaties were made with the Indians of the region west of the Cascade Mountains in 1851. The officials found that the Indians would not agree to move to eastern Oregon.

¹⁸ The Secretary of the Interior, *Annual Report*, Dec. 3, 1849 (Serial 570, Doc. 5), p. 15.

¹⁹ T. T. Johnson, *California and Oregon*, p. 266.

²⁰ "An Act Authorizing the Negotiation of Treaties . . .," June 5, 1850, *Statutes at Large*, IX, 437.

²¹ Johnson, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 332.

The officers, then adopted the plan of allowing them reservations of a part of their tribal lands. This course did not carry out the plan of removing the Indians from the settlements. The result was, that the treaties were not ratified. In 1853, the problem of providing for the Indians and extinguishing the Indian title was not any nearer a solution than in 1850. The early policy was a complete failure. During these years conflicts became more numerous as the settlements spread to the regions north and south of the Willamette Valley.

The following instructions were issued to John P. Gaines, Alonzo A. Skinner, and Beverly S. Allen, October 15, 1850, who had been appointed, under the Act of June 5, 1850, as commissioners to treat with the Indians of western Oregon. They were instructed to purchase; first, the lands of the Willamette Valley, and then the others west of the Cascade Mountains; to treat with the tribes separately; to gain the consent of the Indians to move to lands in eastern Oregon; and to pay for the lands a nominal price in five per cent annuities in the form of beneficial objects and provisions for education.²²

Six treaties were made by these commissioners in April and May, 1851, prior to the receipt of information that the treaty commission had been abolished by an Act of Congress, February 27, 1851.

The Santiam and the Tualatin band of the Kalapuya tribe were treated with by the commissioners at Champoeg, Oregon, April 16 and 19, 1851. They agreed to cede their lands lying along both sides of the Willamette River, south of Oregon City. The Indians were approached early in the negotiations on the subject of removal to eastern Oregon, but they firmly refused to agree to such a plan. Their reasons were: that they did not wish to leave the graves and lands of their forefathers where they wished to be buried; and that the country east of the Cascade Mountains was an unknown land to them, where they would starve due to their ignorance of the foods in that region. The commissioners finally agreed to allow these Indians certain lands in the foothills on each side of the Willamette Valley. In justification of this action, it was

²² The Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Gaines, Oct. 15, 1850, C. I. A., A. R., Nov. 27, 1850 (Serial 595, Doc. 1), p. 146.

stated that the Indian laborers were indispensable to the settlements on account of the scarcity of workmen.²³

Two bands of the Molala Indians, and the Yamhill and Lakmiut bands of the Kalapuya tribe, made four treaties with the commissioners, May 14, 1851. The Indians refused to move east of the Cascade Mountains and demanded cash payment for their lands. The upper and lower Molala agreed to accept as pay for their lands, the sum of \$42,000, in twenty annual installments, one third of each payment to be in cash, and two thirds in goods. The Indians were to be allowed reservations of a part of the cessions of lands which they made. In the case of the Yamhill band, they were advised to move west of the Coast Range since their lands had been so completely occupied by settlers that it would be impossible to provide a reservation of sufficient size, of their tribal lands, to support them.²⁴

The policy concerning the western Indians of Oregon as formulated by Thurston was not followed in the treaties of the commissioners. In the place of the Thurston policy, they adopted a plan of their own, which allowed the Indians to remain in the Willamette Valley. They urged that the treaties should be ratified on the grounds that the treaties procured a valuable territory and justly compensated the Indians.²⁵ These treaties were not ratified. The delegate from Oregon, at the time that they came before the Senate was Joseph Lane. It is not probable that they had his support, because the treaties did not provide for the removal of the Willamette Valley Indians which he had recommended when governor of Oregon. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs did not oppose their ratification nor did he advise it. He stated that the treaties contained, "Novel provisions the practical operation of which could not be foreseen."²⁶

²³ The Treaty Commissioners to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 19, 1851, C. I. A., A. R., Nov. 27, 1851 (Serial 636, Doc. 2), p. 467.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 469.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 471.

²⁶ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, Nov. 27, 1851 (Serial 636, Doc. 2), p. 271. There exists:

"A copy of a treaty (April 16, 1851), negotiated by Gaines, Skinner, and Allen at Champog with subordinate chiefs of the Santiam band of the Callapooya Indians, with a journal of the proceedings. Treaty 5 pp.; Journal 62 pp.

"A copy of a treaty (April 19, 1851), negotiated by Gaines, Skinner, and Allen at Champog with the Twalty band of Callapooya Indians. 7 pp.

No treaties were found dated May 14, 1851, which were made by the commissioners with the Molala and bands of the Kalapuya Indians. *Letter from Dr. J. Franklin Jameson*, Feb. 23, 1917.

Anson Dart was appointed to the office of superintendent of Indian affairs, which was created by the Act of June 5, 1850. He continued the policy of holding councils with the Indians of the interior, which White and Lane had adopted. The Act which abolished the office of the treaty commissioners, February 27, 1851, transferred the duties of the commission to the superintendent of Indian affairs. In the summer of 1851, he made thirteen treaties with the Indians of western Oregon, in which he allowed the same terms that had been included in the treaties made by the commissioners, namely: a reservation of a part of each cession for the Indians making the sale, and payments in cash and beneficial objects.

The superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon was instructed to pay special attention to the work of civilizing the Indians. This was to be accomplished through the encouragement of agriculture among the Indians, cooperation between the missionaries and the Indian service, the suppression of the whiskey trade, and the prevention of wars among the Indian tribes. In commenting on the general Indian situation the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote: "The rapid increase of our population, its onward march from the Missouri frontier westward, and from the Pacific east, steadily lessening and closing up the intervening space, renders it certain that there remains to the red man but one alternative—early civilization or gradual extinction."²⁷

Anson Dart held three councils in June, 1851, with the Indians of upper Oregon. He had promised some of the Wasco, Klikitat, and Cascade Indians in the fall of 1850 that he would visit them. These Indians had become alarmed on account of the rumor that the western Indians were to be moved into their country, and the beginning of settlements, along the Columbia River. Another source of trouble in the upper Oregon country was the unfriendly relations which existed between the Nez Percés and the Shoshoni. At the council with the Columbia River Indians at The Dalles, June 5, 1851,

²⁷ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Anson Dart, July 20, 1850, in C. I. A., *A. R.*, Nov. 27, 1850 (Serial 595, Doc. 1), p. 149.

the subjects discussed were the removal of the western Indians into eastern Oregon, and pay for the lands taken by the settlers. The Indians objected to having the western Indians brought into their country on the grounds that the western Indians would bring disease among them, and that their customs were different. Dart quieted their fears on this score by informing them that the government would not force the removal of the Willamette Valley Indians, who had refused to leave their native lands. As to pay for their lands, the superintendent promised them that they would be paid for their rights to the land. The second council was held in the Walla Walla Valley with the Cayuse Indians, June 20, 1851. Expressions of friendship were exchanged, and arrangements were made for the establishment of an agency on the Umatilla River. The third council was held with the Nez Percés, June 27, 1851. The superintendent feasted the Indians who expressed themselves as friendly towards the whites.²⁸ The Nez Percés agreed to postpone their attack upon the Shoshoni.²⁹ The plan of holding councils with the Indians of upper Oregon preserved the peace of that part of the territory fairly well, as long as there were few settlers in the region.

Upon returning from the interior, Anson Dart continued the work of making treaties with the Indians west of the Cascade Mountains. He submitted a report and thirteen treaties, November 7, 1851. These were received by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 10, 1852, and sent to the Senate, by the President, August 3, 1852, where they were read and ordered printed. These treaties were not ratified. They may be divided into three groups, as follows: the Tansey Point treaties, which included ten of the thirteen, the two treaties made at Port Orford, and the one with the Clackamas Indians.³⁰

The Tansey Point treaties were made with ten small bands of the Chinook Indians, numbering in all about 320 Indians. The territory ceded stretched along the Pacific Coast from

²⁸ Dart to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Oct. 3, 1851, in C. I. A., *A. R.* Nov. 27, 1851 (Serial 636, Doc. 2), p. 479.

²⁹ Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, II, 217, note.

³⁰ Interior Department, Indian Affairs Office, "Anson Dart submits 13 treaties negotiated with Indians of Oregon, also his report relative thereto," Nov. 7, 1851, *Archives*. (Photostat copies of the report and five of the treaties are in the Bancroft Collection), Appendix A.

[The references refer to the page numbers of the photostat copies in the Bancroft Collection.]

Shoalwater Bay to Tillamook Bay, a distance of one hundred miles, and extended back from the coast about sixty miles.

The treaty with the Lower Band of Chinook was made at Tansey Point, August 9, 1851, by Anson Dart, H. H. Spalding, and J. L. Parrish. These Indians ceded a small area on the north side of the entrance to the Columbia River, and reserved for their own use lands that they were occupying at the time, which reserve was to continue during the lifetime of the Indians signing the treaty. It was also provided that Washington Hall should be removed from the reservation. As pay for the cession, the Indians were to receive an annuity of \$2,000 for ten years, \$400 of which was to be in money and the remainder in clothing, food, tools, cooking utensils, tobacco, soap, and ammunition.³¹

The Wheelappa band of Chinook Indians were treated with August 9, 1851, by Anson Dart and his assistants at Tansey Point. The region ceded lay between the Pacific at Shoalwater Bay and the Cowlitz Valley, and between lands claimed by the Chehalis Indians on the north and the Chinook tribes that bordered the Columbia River on the south. The treaty provided that the region ceded should be a reservation for the Chinook and Chehalis Indians, in case the majority of these Indians agreed to move to this location within a year. In consideration for accepting this central reservation, it was agreed that the government would establish an agency, manual labor school, blacksmith shop, and a farm on this reserve. The Indians were to receive an annuity of \$300 for ten years. Of this sum, \$150 was to be in money and the rest in goods. This treaty included the lands of the Quille-que-oqua band of Chinook and must be counted as two to account for the ten stated to have been made with the bands of the Chinook Indians.³²

Concerning these two bands, Dart said that only two males, and several females and children remained of the bands. The cession extended twenty miles along the coast and forty miles into the interior. At this time there was no white man located

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16 ff.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 19 ff.

on the purchase. As for the general reservation, the provision was made to satisfy some of the citizens of Oregon. Dart had not the slightest expectation that any of the Indians would leave their accustomed places and take up a residence on the reservation within the year required by the treaty. At the expiration of that time the area would become a part of the public domain, in case the Indians refused to occupy it.³³

The Waukikum band of Chinook Indians made a treaty at Tansey Point, August 8, 1851, with Anson Dart, in which they ceded lands lying along the north bank of the Columbia River, between the cessions of the Lower Band of Chinook and the Konniack Indians, and overlapping that of the Wheelappa band of Chinook. The reservations consisted of their places of residence at the time the treaty was made. An annuity of \$700 for ten years was to be paid in the following manner: \$100 in cash, and the remainder in goods.³⁴

The Konniack band of Chinook Indians concluded a treaty with Anson Dart, August 8, 1851, at Tansey Point. The cession made by these Indians lay in two parts; one on the north side of the Columbia River which included the western part of the Cowlitz Valley, and one on the south side of the Columbia, west and south of that river. A reservation was made of the lands occupied by these Indians at Oak Point. The compensation for these lands was an annuity for ten years of \$1,050, of which \$150 was to be money, while the rest was to be goods.³⁵

The information concerning the other eight treaties made by Anson Dart is limited to his report on the treaties. No trace of these treaties could be found in the Indian Office Archives.

The Klatskanian band of Chinook Indians formerly had occupied the lands claimed by the Kooniack south of the Columbia. At the time the treaties were made, they claimed a region south of the Konniack cession, that is, the land lying to the north and west of the mouth of the Willamette River. There were only three men and five women remaining of a

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 21 ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 24 ff.

band that in former times, according to Dart, had forced tribute from the Indians and the whites who passed up or down the Columbia River, it being impossible for the Hudson's Bay Company to pass with less than sixty armed men. They ceded their lands, but the terms of the treaty are not available.³⁶

The Kathlamet band of Chinook Indians ceded a region along the south side of the Columbia. The cession had a frontage on the Columbia of forty miles from Ah-pin-pin Point and extended into the interior about twenty miles. Astoria was located on this purchase. The reservations consisted of two small islands in the Columbia River.³⁷

Wallooska, the only survivor of a band of Chinook Indians formerly of some importance ceded lands lying between those claimed by the Kathlamet and those ceded by the Clatsop, including the valley of the Lewis and Clark River.³⁸

The Clatsop band of Chinook, at first, refused to sell unless the ships and mills were removed from the country. Later they agreed to cede their lands if they were allowed two reservations of about one hundred square miles each, but finally they accepted a reservation at Point Adams which was three and one half miles in length, two miles wide at the north end, and one mile wide at the southern end. They complained of the injustice of the government in not paying them for their lands. The cession was said to contain five hundred thousand acres.³⁹

The Tillamook band of Chinook Indians ceded the region south of the Clatsop cession, the Tillamook Bay country. The superintendent of Indian affairs stated that there were no settlers in this region at the time the treaty was made, that the lands were good, and that it would, no doubt, be rapidly settled.⁴⁰

The two treaties made with the Port Orford Indians seem to have ceded the area between the Rogue River and the Coquille River. Dart stated that the Coquille Indians, who had murdered T'Vault's party, lived north of the Coquille

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

River and were not included in the treaties made at Port Orford. The Indians had had very little intercourse with the whites, and had very little knowledge of the value of goods or money, but it was believed that they would carry out the provisions of the treaty in every particular. About five hundred Indians were included in these treaties. Dart stated that it was important that these treaties should be made because the region would be rapidly settled due to the location near the gold mines, the agricultural advantages, the cedar forests, and the good harbors.⁴¹

The treaty with the Clackamas Indians provided for the cession of lands lying along the south side of the Columbia River and east of the Willamette River. It included the valleys of the Clackamas and Sandy Rivers. This treaty was considered the most important of those made by Anson Dart, because the region was in the most thickly settled part of Oregon. There were twenty mills operating in this region in the fall of 1851. The town of Milwaukee was located on the cession. At the beginning of the negotiations, the Indians made unreasonable demands but finally agreed to accept the terms offered by the superintendent.⁴²

Three causes for objection to the thirteen treaties were mentioned by Dart. In the treaty with the Lower Band of the Chinook, the removal of Washington Hall, which the Indians demanded, was considered a possible objection. To this, Dart held that the removal of an obnoxious whiskey dealer was hardly a valid cause for non-ratification. The second objection was the reservation at Point Adams desired by the Clatsop band of Chinook Indians where two or three settlers had claims. The superintendent stated that the Indians refused to sell this region and he thought that they were entitled to the district as a home. The third reason for non-ratification was the informality in the negotiation of the Clackamas treaty, having been made by Dart acting alone. H. H. Spalding and Beverly S. Allen had been designated by the Act

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 13 f.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 13 f.

of February 17, 1851, to serve with Dart in making treaties. Spalding had been removed and his successor had not been authorized to assist in making treaties, and Beverly S. Allen had declined the office.⁴³

Probably the reasons for the non-ratification of the treaties were other than the objections raised to them by Dart. The fact that in most cases they were made with insignificant bands was probably the strongest objection to them. They did not carry out the Indian policy of Lane and Thurston, which planned for the removal of the western Indians to lands east of the Cascade Mountains, but gave reservations of the tribal lands. There also seems to have been objection to the amount of annuities allowed the Chinook bands.

Dart stated that the plan for the removal of the western Indians to lands east of the Cascade Mountains as provided for in the Act of June 5, 1850, had been found impossible by the treaty commissioners, Gaines, Skinner, and Allen, although they had made every effort to obtain the consent of the Willamette Valley Indians to the plan. The superintendent believed that the Indians were more industrious than other Indians of the United States. He stated that they did the boating on the rivers, made all the rails for fencing, and did the greater part of the labor on the farms, and worked for lower wages than it was possible to obtain white laborers. For these reasons he thought that it was better not to remove them. The Indians treated with by Dart recognized the power of the government to exterminate them, but they said that they would suffer this rather than leave the graves of their band. It was this attachment to their native region that caused the superintendent to believe that the central reservation scheme was impractical.⁴⁴

The Indians would not accept annuities unless they were paid within ten years. They said that unless they were paid soon that the whites would have the lands for nothing. They believed that their bands would become extinct within ten

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7 ff.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 7 f.

years. Contrary to instructions, the treaties provided for part of the annuities to be paid in cash. This the Indians demanded. Dart stated that money or clothing in excess of the yearly needs of the Indians would be worse than thrown away. In the case of the Chinook bands clothing was provided for every adult of each band. Flour was provided to give a little variety to their fish diet which Dart thought the cause of some of the sickness among them. Tools and utensils were included in the annuities to assist them in living and working.

In every case, the entire band was present at the time the treaty was made, and every man, woman, and child was made to understand the terms of the treaty. There was, therefore, no chance for the complaint that only a portion of the band was present and a party to the treaty. The Indians, in every case, were satisfied with the conditions of the treaty.⁴⁵

No more treaties were made during Dart's term of office. He had promised the Indians of the upper Umpqua and the upper Rogue River Valley that he would treat with them but this was indefinitely postponed on account of the lack of money.⁴⁶ In the latter part of October, 1852, Dart was informed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the treaties had been practically rejected by the Senate, and he was instructed to make no more treaties until the general policy of the government should be determined.⁴⁷ In his annual report for 1851 the Commissioner recommended larger appropriations and an assistant commissioner of Indian affairs for the Pacific Coast region. He did not commit himself on the question of the ratification of the treaties.⁴⁸ In his report for 1852, he assumed that the policy adopted in the treaties had been abandoned by the government. Thus, by December, 1852, the Federal government, the people, and the Indian officials, considered that the treaties had been finally rejected. Dart had complained in his reports that he was unable to explain to the Indians the delay in the fulfilling of the treaties, and that

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 4 f. Bancroft stated that the Clackamas Indians were to receive an annuity of \$2,500 for ten years, \$500 in cash and the remainder in food and clothing. The Chinook Indians were allowed \$91,300 in ten annual installments in clothing, provisions, and other articles; and reservations were set aside at Clatsop Point, Woody and Cathlamet Islands, and Shoalwater Bay. The Port Orford treaties made in September, 1851, provided that the Indians should receive \$28,500 in ten annual installments of supplies. Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, II, 217.

⁴⁶ Dart to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 23, 1852, C. I. A., A. R., Nov. 30, 1852 (Serial 658, Doc. 1), p. 446.

⁴⁷ Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, II, 245.

⁴⁸ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, Nov. 30, 1852 (Serial 658, Doc. 1), p. 301.

the Indian situation was made more serious by the postponement of ratification.⁴⁹

In 1854, conjectures were made in the Senate as to why the treaties had not been ratified. It was stated that it might have been due to the large appropriations which were required under them. Houston stated that the treaties contained objectional provisions, that they were made with insignificant tribes, and that there was no apparent restriction in several of the treaties.⁵⁰ There may be some obscurity about the exact terms of some of the treaties, and some difficulty in determining the exact reasons for their non-ratification, but of this we are certain—the plan of Thurston for the removal of the Indians west of the Cascade Mountains to lands east of those mountains ended in complete failure, which was due to the absurdity of the plan. To have moved the western Indians into eastern Oregon would have meant to have exterminated them.

APPENDIX

Oregon Superintendency, D. 3/52
Anson Dart

Oregon City Nov. 7, 1851, Submits 13 treaties negotiated with Indians of Oregon. Also his report relative thereto.

(Treaties)

Informal inquiry made at Senate shows that treaties were received there from President Aug. 3/52, read and ordered printed, and there all trace is lost. (Never ratified.)

Christiancy

April 1888

Recd. Jany. 10, 1852

⁴⁹ Dart to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 23, 1852, in C. I. A., A. R., Nov. 30, 1852 (Serial 658, Doc. 1, p. 447).

⁵⁰ "Indian Appropriation Bill," *Congressional Globe*, Mar. 24, 1854, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 744.

Copy sent with treaties to Sec. of
Int 21 Aug 1852

File

Office of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs
Oregon City O. T. November 7th 1851.

Hon. L. Lea

Commissioner of Indian Affairs

Sir:

You have herewith, thirteen Indian Treaties; which cede to the United States more than Six Million acres of land, lying upon both sides of the Columbia River, upon the Willamette River; and upon the Pacific Coast—west of the Cascade range of Mountains in Oregon. The Treaties concluded at Tansey-Point (near the mouth of the Columbia) cover a tract of over one hundred miles on the Pacific, running back along the Columbia about sixty miles; the country was owned by ten small Tribes of Chinook Indians, numbering in all, about three hundred and twenty souls. The Clatsops, who were the first treated with; interposed many objections to parting with their country upon any terms; they made many long and loud complaints, at the injustice done them by the Government; who they said had taken possession of their lands without paying them, had allowed the white people—many years since—to occupy and buy and sell their country, for which they had received no equivalent; pointing to instances where farms had been sold for from two to six thousand dollars, upon which lands the whites were making “much money.” Their first demands of the Government notwithstanding their anxiety to get their pay—were very unreasonable. They assured me that they would not “talk” until I would stop the ships from coming into the Columbia, and destroy two sawmills in the Southern part of their country; which by their noise had “frightened the fish away!” Being assured of the impossibility of having their demands com-

plied with; and after much talk in Council, they concluded to waive these demands, provided they could be permitted to have two Reservations of about ten miles square each: this being objected to in like emphatic manner: the Indians held a consultation with neighboring Tribes which lasted two days, and finally agreed to one Reservation, which should cover their Burying grounds and Lodges at Point-Adams—making a tract three and a half miles in length—two miles wide at the north end, and one mile at the lower or south end. As this tract had three claimants or settlers upon it, large offers were made the Indians to place the title to *all* in the United States, this they steadily declined; leaving no alternative, but to allow this Reservation or *not* treat with them for the balance of their lands, being about *five hundred thousand* acres. That part of their lands known as “Clatsop Plains” is an open level country with a very rich soil; nearly or quite every acre of which is claimed and occupied by white people. The balance of the purchase is timbered land, chiefly of the heaviest kind, (Although it is called “timbered land” there are some Prairies of small extent on both sides of the Columbia,) the soil is of excellent quality for farming purposes, and from its very advantageous situation upon the Columbia River, and Pacific Ocean affording superior facilities for exporting its timber, and the products of the Farmer, it cannot but prove of immense value to the United States, this too at a day I think, by no means far distant. The timber alluded to, is mostly a species of Fir, growing immensely large and tall. There are upon this purchase two never-failing mill streams sufficiently large for any mill or manufacturing purpose, besides these are large Springs and Springbrooks in every part of the Country west of the Cascade Mountains.

In relation to the Conditions of the Treaties made, it is necessary to inform you, that the habits and customs of these fishing Indians are unlike those of any other part of our domain. It is characteristic with them to be industrious. Al-

most without exception, I have found them anxious to get employment at common labour and willing too, to work at prices, much below that demanded by the whites. The Indians make all the rails used in fencing, and at *this time* do the greater part of the labour in farming. They also do all the boating upon the rivers: In consideration therefore of their usefulness as labourers in the settlements, it was believed to be far better for the Country that they should not be removed from the *settled portion of* Oregon if it were possible to do so. As alluded to in the Act of Congress of June 5th 1850, Let me here remark that the Treaty Commissioners, appointed under this act, used their best exertions to persuade all, or either of the bands in the Valley of the Willamette; to remove east of the Mountains; but without success.

The poor Indians are fully aware of the rapidity with which, as a people, they are wasting away, on this account they could not be persuaded to fix a time, beyond ten years to receive all of their money and pay for their lands, saying that they should not live beyond that period. They are fully sensible of the power of the government, admit that they can be killed and exterminated, but say that they cannot be driven far from the homes and graves of their Fathers. They further told me that if compensation for their lands was much longer withheld, the whites would have the lands for nothing.

Believing as I do, that the food used by these Indians (being almost entirely fish) tends much towards shortening their lives, I cannot but admit that there is great probability that only a few years will pass e're they will all lie side by side with their Fathers and Braves,—the tribe or tribes extinct. When an Indian is sick, his only food is Salmon, which he must eat, or nothing, and I have observed that few—very few, ever recover from Sickness. Owing to their wretched food in Such Cases, I was induced to include in their annuities, Flour and Bread: and to protect them from storms & inclement weather I stipulated Clothing sufficient for every adult, male and

female in all of the several tribes treated with.

You will observe that besides furnishing each band with provisions, which will go far towards their yearly subsistence, there are many useful farming tools and cooking utensils.

I am convinced that money or goods given to the Indians of the Pacific, beyond what is absolutely necessary for their subsistence from year to year,—is worse than thrown away. I would however here remark, that in every case with the bands treated with, they are well satisfied with the Compensation to be given them as well as with all the Conditions and Stipulations of their Several Treaties.

It may not be uninteresting to inform you, that during each treaty concluded with the thirteen tribes, the entire band was present, men, women and children, and all were made to fully understand the importance and the conditions of the contract entered into. In most cases they were extremely anxious one and all to sign their names (make their mark) upon the Treaty. In several cases *every man living* of the band, did sign, make his mark. I mention this to show you that a difficulty often arising in Indian Treaties, may not be looked for here. I allude to the many cases that have occurred, where loud complaints arise after a Treaty was concluded—that the greater part of the Tribe, were not parties to, or consulted during the Negotiation.

The lower band of Chinook Indians, which is the largest of that tribe; have their head-quarters at what is called Chinook point—on the Columbia; and occupy at present, the country on the north side of that river directly opposite that of the Clatsops: As late as the year 1820 this point was the rendezvous of the most powerful Nation upon the Pacific Coast; now wasted to a few over three hundred souls.

In going to council with this band, a difficulty arose which they assured me must be settled, before they were ready to “talk.” They stated that one Washington Hall, a white man, had laid claim to the ground covering their whole Village he

had degraded himself by marrying one of their slaves:—was very obnoxious to all the band; sought every means to drive them from their possessions, and had particularly annoyed them by fencing up all the fresh water and entirely excluding them from it, in short had done many acts, which compelled them to demand his removal as a first consideration; and we were obliged to agree to this requirement, or abandon negotiations with them.

In continuing this subject I would here remark, that the removal of *Hall*, and the *Clatsop Reservation*, seem to be the only grounds for objections raised against the ratification of these treaties: I should be sorry then, if a Whiskey trader upon one side of the river; and the influence of two or three settlers on a point of land which the Indians refused to sell, upon the other,—should interfere with their ratification.

The next treaty I would speak of in detail, is the one concluded with the remnant bands of Wheelappas and Quillequeguas. The only males living of which tribes, are the *two* signers to the treaty; there are however several females—women and children yet living.

The tract of country purchased of them is situated on what is known as “Shoal-water Bay” upon the Pacific having about twenty miles of Coast and running back inland about forty miles—bounded on the north by the country owned by the Chehales Indians—on the east by the lands of the Cowlitz band,—and on the south by the lower band of Chinooks. This purchase is known to embrace a tract, equal in fertility of soil, and quality of timber, to any portion of Oregon. It has extensive and beautiful groves of the Fir and Cedar, with small Prairies interspersed; there are also large tracts of what is called “hard wood bottoms”. The surface is gently undulating and mill streams and fine brooks abound throughout the purchase.

You will perceive that this tract is set apart as an Indian country, or Reserve *Provided* all the neighboring bands shall,

within one year consent to occupy it, and give up their temporary rights of possession; This was not done at the suggestion of the Indians, but to gratify a large number of our own people, who believed these small bands on, and adjacent to the Coast (should suitable provision be made) could be persuaded to live together as one band or tribe. But in my opinion, there is not the least prospect that a single band will leave their present homes; in which case the country will be open for settlement within one year;—at the present time there is not a white man residing upon the purchase.

Wallooska is the only male survivor of a tribe, once of some note. The tract purchased of him, joining the Clatsops on the east is mainly valuable for its immense forests of and variety of choice timber, the southern part is very hilly almost mountainous—yet everywhere covered with the timber described. Lewis and Clarke's river (where these travellers wintered) is a superior mill stream, there are others—smaller streams in different parts all valuable for milling or agricultural purposes. It is equally true of this, as of the other purchases, that the soil is good and has every indication of being susceptible of high cultivation.

The Kathlamet band of Chinooks, cede a valuable body of land to the United States—extending from Ah-pin-pin point forty miles along the south side of the Columbia—running back (south) about twenty miles. Astoria and Fort George are upon this tract. Dense forests of various kinds of valuable timber, with small Prairies and many mill streams—are the principal features of the Country. The great growth of timber and underbrush here, rendered it extremely difficult for me to examine as much of the tract as I desired, but I informed myself very particularly from those who had made personal inspection of it—this band reserve from sale two small Islands in the Columbia.

The treaty with the Tillamooks secures a valuable country resembling the Clatsop Plains—and is directly south of that

tract, it is very even and regular along the Coast, but approaching the Mountains, it is uneven and hilly. Tillamook Bay affords a fine harbor, with sufficient depth of water on the bar for vessels drawing twelve feet of water; There are no less than five considerable streams putting into the bay; the valley of one of which extends fifty miles along the stream, making richest of bottom lands. Much of this purchase is open country and as far as known, without settlers. Travellers all concur in representing it as offering equal inducements to settlers with any portion of Oregon.

The lands ceded by the Waukikam and Konniack bands of Chinooks is everywhere densely covered with timber, and has many very valuable mill-powers upon it; that part lying upon, and for two or three miles back from the Columbia, is very hilly with many bluffs and deep ravines. The balance is moderately rolling, and susceptible of cultivation. The Cowlitz river near the east side of the tract is sufficiently large for Steamboats to the rapids fifteen miles up from the Columbia, at the rapids it is a series of falls suitable for Milling purposes which extend many miles interior.

The country ceded by the Konniack's upon the South side of the Columbia is composed of flat lands adjacent to this river, with deep, rich soil, then gradually rolling, but good farming land extends to the bounds of the Klatskanian's a distance of about twenty miles. These lands were once owned by the Klatskanian's above mentioned, and as an instance to show the rapidity with which the Indian upon these shores is passing away, I will relate, that this tribe was, at the first settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon, so warlike and formidable that the Company's men dare not pass their possessions along the river, in less numbers than sixty armed men; and then often at considerable loss of life and always at great hazard. The Indians were in the habit of enforcing tribute upon all the neighboring tribes who passed in the river, and disputed the right of any persons to pass them except upon

these conditions. The tribe is now reduced to *three men and five women*. The face and character of their country is very similar to that previously purchased along the river, (of the Konniack's).

The two treaties made at Port Orford upon the Pacific embrace a valuable tract of Country, not only on account of the great value of its timber, but having two good harbors upon the Pacific, viz, at Port Orford and mouth of the Coquille river,—in addition to the harbor at Coquille that river is navigable for large Steamboats seventy miles interior. The bottom lands along this stream are from ten to twenty miles in width, and I think in fertility of Soil are not surpassed in the United States; the whole tract will be rapidly settled first, on account of its proximity to the gold-mines, again its inducements in an agricultural point, of view, and thirdly on account of the easy access to its almost interminable forests of Cedar. The total number of Indians living upon this tract is ascertained to be about five Hundred souls, have had very little intercourse with the whites, and live in an almost entirely denuded state; they have no idea whatever of the value of money or many articles of use and value among other tribes; yet it is believed that they will in every particular, scrupulously adhere to the Contract which they have entered into with the Government.

The Coquille Indians, of whom so much has been said, connected with the murder of T'Vault's party—have not yet been treated with; their country lies adjacent on the north, beyond the river bearing their name.

I will now speak of the Clackamas treaty; the last, and decidedly the most important one concluded among the thirteen bands or tribes of Indians. It embraces a country more thickly settled than any portion of Oregon. The flourishing town of Milwaukee on the Willamette river, is upon the purchase; and immediately on its southern border adjoining is Oregon City, the largest town in the Territory. Woodland

and Prairie, conveniently situated for farms make up the western portion of the tract, and upon the North, or Columbia side of the country,—as well as adjoining the Willamette on the West, are extensive and rich river bottoms, there is much of this kind of land also on a considerable stream, washing the base of the Cascade range of Mountains—called “Sandy river” (which joins the Columbia near the North East part of the purchase).

The Clackamas river, which empties into the Willamette just below Oregon City, is a dashing, never failing stream, upon which are many mills, affording besides these, power for many more; there are now in operation about twenty mills in different parts of the tract. I will mention that instances have occurred where farming lands have been sold for fifty dollars per acre; this was of course upon the western or best settled portion of the purchase.

The whole eastern side of the Clackamas lands is covered with a dense growth of Fir and Cedar timber, and has not been much explored; at least not sufficiently for me to give a minute description in these papers.

I was induced to negotiate this treaty, although there was an informality connected with it, but which I hope will not prove a serious obstacle to its ratification. I allude to the fact of there having been no one associated with me on the part of the United States. In conformity to the Act of February last, you did associate with me Henry H. Spaulding and Beverly S. Allen, but the first named having been removed and his successor not having conferred upon him the power to act with me.—and Mr. Allen declining the Office,—left me the responsibility of acting alone on the part of the Government.

At first many unsuccessful efforts were made to negotiate with them owing to demands made by them, which were unreasonable, and even impossible to comply with; at several of our meetings, they refused to sell the most valuable part of

their lands; but at length, came and expressed their willingness to be governed in their sale, entirely by my readiness to do them justice; and would submit the matter entirely to me as to the reservations, and other preliminaries connected with the sale. The same terms as contained in the treaty were then submitted to them, upon which they deliberated a few days—then they met male person in the tribe) and desired the treaty to be drawn up accordingly. To conclude, I would say, that I found so many persons anxious and deeply interested in the result, that I assumed the responsibility before mentioned, of acting alone.

In concluding this Report I would say, that I have sought to Embrace the principal and important features connected with the treaties herewith submitted; without great care as to manner of arrangement.

I desire time to become more thoroughly acquainted with each, and every band of Indians in this important and interesting Section; as well as to examine personally tracts of country occupied by them, (portions of which have been but little explored) before I can enlarge upon many subjects, but briefly alluded to in this Report.

I have the honor to be your Obt. Servt

Anson Dart
Superintendent of Indian Affairs
Oregon T.

TREATY WITH LOWER BAND OF CHINOOK

Treaty at Tansey Point, near Clatsop Plains between Anson Dart, Supt. Indian Affairs and others on the part of the United States, and the Chiefs & Headmen of the Lower Band of the Chinook Indians.

Articles of a Treaty, made and concluded at Tansey Point, near Clatsop Plains, this ninth day of August Eighteen hun-

dred and fifty one between Anson Dart Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Henry H. Spaulding Indian Agent, and Josiah L. Parish Sub Indian Agent, on the part of the United States, of the one part and the undersigned Chiefs and Headmen of the Lower Band of Chinook Indians, of the other part.

Article 1st.

The said Lower Band of the Chinook Indians, hereby cede to the United States the tract of land, included within the following boundaries to wit:

Beginning at the mouth of a certain stream entering Grays Bay, on the North side of the Columbia River, which stream forms the western boundary of lands, ceded to the United States by the Waukikum Band of Chinooks; running thence Northerly on said western boundary to lands of the Wheelappa Band of Indians; thence westerly along said lands of the Wheelappa Band, to the Shoalwater Bay; thence Southerly and Easterly following the Coast of the Pacific Ocean and the Northern shore of the Columbia to the place of beginning. The above description is intended to embrace all of the lands owned or claimed by said Lower Band of Chinook Indians.

Article 2nd.

The said Lower Band of Chinook Indians, reserve the privilege of occupying the grounds they now occupy for the purpose of building, fishing and grazing their stock, with the right to cut timber for their own building purposes and for fuel. Also the right to pick Cranberries on the marshes, and the right to cultivate as much land as they wish for their own purposes. No white man shall be allowed to interfere with their rights, and it is hereby agreed, that a white man by the name of Washington Hall, shall be removed from the land above ceded. The reservations in this article, shall continue during the lives of the Indians who sign this treaty.

Article 3rd.

In consideration of the cession, made in the first Article of this treaty, the United States agree to pay, to the said Lower

Band of Chinooks an annuity of Two Thousand Dollars, for ten years in the manner following to wit: Four hundred dollars in money, Fifty Blankets, Thirty woollen Coats, Thirty pairs pants, Thirty vests, Fifty Shirts, Fifty pairs Shoes, one hundred and fifty yards Linsey Plain, Two hundred and fifty yards Calico, Two hundred and fifty yards Shirting, Twenty blanket Shawls, Three hundred pounds Soap, Three barrels Salt, Fifty bags Flour, Three hundred pounds Tobacco, Twenty Hoes, Ten Axes, Thirty Knives, Seventy Cotton Handkerchiefs, Two Barrels Molasses, Four hundred pounds Sugar, Thirty pounds Tea, Ten eight quart Brass Kettles, Fifteen ten-quart tin pails, Thirty pint cups, Thirty six-quart pans, Thirty Caps, one Keg Powder, All the above to be of good quality, and delivered at Tansey Point aforesaid.

Article 4th.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship, between all the citizens of the United States of America, and all the individuals composing said Lower Band of Chinook Indians.

Article 5th.

This agreement shall be binding and obligatory upon the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall be ratified and confirmed by the President and Senate of the United States.

In Testimony whereof, the said Anson Dart, Superintendent, Henry H. Spaulding Agent and Josia L. Parish Sub Agent aforesaid, and the said Chiefs and Headmen of the Lower Band of the Chinook tribe of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and seals, at the time and place first herein above written.

Signed, Sealed and Witnessed	Anson Dart	(Seal)
in presense of	Superintendent	
N. DuBois, Secretary	H. H. Spaulding	(Seal)
W. W. Raymond, Interpreter	Agent	
R. Shortess, Acting Sub Agent	Josiah L. Parish	(Seal)
L. H. Judson	Sub Agent	
Cumcumley	his X (Seal)	Tychah-win
		his X (Seal)

	mark his		mark his
Kulchute	X (Seal)	Nar-cotta	X (Seal)
	mark his		mark his
Ah-moos-a-mosse	X (Seal)	Yahmants	X (Seal)
	mark his		mark his
Que-wish	X (Seal)	Kaase	X (Seal)
	mark his		mark his
Selahwish	X (Seal)	Wahguevn	X (Seal)
	mark his		mark his
Wahkuck	X (Seal)	Seekumtyee	X (Seal)
	mark his		mark his
Chakinpon	X (Seal)	Kahdock	X (Seal)
	mark his		mark his
Huckswelt	X (Seal)	Yahwisk	X (Seal)
	mark his		mark his
Kah-luck-muck	X (Seal)	Elashah	X (Seal)
	mark his		mark his
Schoo	X (Seal)	Chacolitch	X (Seal)
	mark		mark

TREATY WITH WHEELAPPA BAND

Treaty at Tansey Point, near Clatsop Plains between Anson Dart, Supt. Indian Affairs and others on the part of the United States and the Chiefs and Headmen of the Wheelappa Band of the Chinook Indians.

Articles of a Treaty, made and concluded at Tansey Point, near Clatsop Plains, this ninth day of August Eighteen Hundred and fifty one, between Anson Dart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Henry H. Spaulding, Indian Agent, and

Josiah L. Parish Sub Indian Agent, on the part of the United States of the one part and the undersigned Chiefs or Headmen of the Wheelappa Band of the Chinook Indians, of the other part.

Article 1st.

The said Wheelappa Band of Indians, hereby cede to the United States, all the land claimed or owned by the said Band. The land intended to be hereby ceded is bounded on the North by lands owned by the Cheehales tribe of Indians, on the East by lands of the Cowlitz Band of Indians on the South by lands of the Waukikum and Lower Bands of Chinooks, and on the West by the Ocean and Shoalwater Bay.

Article 2nd.

The above cession is made with the express understanding that the land, shall be reserved for the exclusive use of the Chinook Tribes or Bands and the Cheehales Tribe of Indians, provided the majority of them, shall consent to give up their reserved rights to the lands they now occupy, and remove to the lands ceded in Article 1st of this treaty.

Article 3rd.

It is hereby agreed on the part of the United States, that they shall establish an Agency, a Manual Labor School, Blacksmith Shop, farming establishment &c, at some point on the lands above ceded; provided the above mentioned Indians, consent to congregate upon said lands and "give up their reserved rights" as named in Article 2nd. of this treaty, within one year after the ratification of this Treaty, by the President and Senate of the United States.

Article 4th.

In consideration of the cession made in the first article of this Treaty, the United States agree to pay to the said Wheelappa Indians, an annuity of Five hundred dollars, for ten years, in the following manner, viz: one Hundred and fifty dollars in money, Twenty five blankets, Four Woolen coats, Four pairs pants, Four vests, Four pairs men's shoes, Ten

pairs women's shoes, Ten shirts, Sixty yards Linsey plaid, one Hundred Yards Calico, one hundred yards brown muslin, Eight blankets shawls, Fifty pounds soap, Twenty pounds Tea, one hundred pounds Sugar, Eight sacks flour, Five Brass kettles (eight quart) Five ten-quart tin pails, Five six quart tin pans. The above articles are to be of good quality and delivered at Tansey Point, aforesaid, one hundred dollars of the money, to be used for educational purposes, provided the conditions of Articles second and third of this treaty are complied with.

Article 5th.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United States and all the individuals composing said Wheelappa Band of Indians.

Article 6th.

The cession made in Article 1st. is intended to embrace the land formerly owned by the Quille-que-o-qua, Band of Indians of whom only one man remains, Moaest, who is a signer of this treaty.

Article 7th.

This agreement shall be binding and obligatory upon the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall be ratified and confirmed, by the President and Senate of the United States.

In Testimony whereof, the said Anson Dart Superintendent, Henry H. Spaulding, Agent, and Josiah L. Parish Sub Agent, and the said Chiefs or Headmen of the Wheelappa and Quille-que-o-qua Indians, have hereunto set their hands and seals at the time and place first herein above written.

Signed, Sealed and Witnessed	Anson Dart	(Seal)
in presence of	Superintendent.	
N. Du Bois	H. H. Spaulding	(Seal)
Secretary	Agent.	
W. W. Raymond	Josiah L. Parish	(Seal)
Interpreter	Sub Agent.	

R. Shortess Acting Sub Agent	Mowaast	his X (Seal) mark
	Tosetum	his X (Seal) mark
	Pahanoo	his X (Seal) mark
	Alapast	his X (Seal) mark

TREATY WITH WAUKIKUM BAND

Treaty at Tansey Point, near Clatsop Plains, between Anson Dart, Supt. Indian Affairs, and others on the part of the United States, and the Chiefs & Headmen of the Waukikum Band, of the Chinook Tribe of Indians.

Articles of a Treaty made and concluded at Tansey Point, near Clatsop Plains, this eighth day of August, Eighteen hundred and fifty one, between Anson Dart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Henry H. Spaulding Indian Agent, and Josiah L. Parish, Sub Indian Agent, on the part of the United States of the one part, and the undersigned Chiefs and Headmen of the Waukikum Band of the Chinook Tribe of Indians of the other part.

Article 1st.

The said Waukikum Band of Chinook Indians hereby cede, to the United States, the tract of land, included within the following boundaries, viz:

Beginning at the mouth of a certain stream, called the Sahbacluthl, which empties into the north side of the Columbia River, at the west end of Gray's Bay, running thence up and along the Columbia to the mouth of a certain stream called the Neuc-tuc-hae which empties into the Columbia on the North

side, above Oak Point, thence Northerly along said Neuc-tuc-hae, to its headwaters, thence North to the summit of the high lands, between the Columbia, and Che-halees rivers, thence following the summit of said highlands westerly to a point opposite, or directly North of the headwaters of the said Sahbacluthl, thence south to said headwaters, and following said last named stream, to the place of beginning. The above description is intended to include all the land claimed by the said Band of Chinook Indians.

Article 2nd.

The said Waukikum Band reserve to themselves the privilege of occupying their present place of residence, and also of fishing upon the Columbia river, and the two other streams mentioned in Article 1st. also the privilege of cutting timber, for their own building purposes and for fuel, on the above described land, and of hunting on said lands where they are not enclosed.

Article 3rd.

In consideration of the cession made in the foregoing articles of this treaty, the United States agree to pay to the said Wau-ki-kum Band of the Chinook Tribe of Indians, Seven Thousand Dollars, in annual payments, of Seven Hundred dollars for ten years, as follows viz: one Hundred Dollars in money, Twenty Blankets, Ten Woollen Coats, Ten Pairs Pants, Ten Vests, Twenty Shirts, Twenty pairs Shoes, Fifty yards Linsey Plaid, one hundred yards Calico prints, one hundred yards Shirting, Eight Blanket Shawls, one Hundred pounds Soap, one Barrel Salt, Fifteen Bags Flour, one hundred pounds Tobacco, Ten Hoes, Ten Axes, Fifteen Knives, Twenty five Cotton Handkerchiefs, one Barrel Mollasses, one hundred pounds Sugar, Ten pounds Tea, six eight quart Brass Kettles, Ten ten-quart Tin pails, Twelve pint Cups, Ten six quart Pans, Ten Caps; all to be of good quality, and delivered at Brunies [Birnie's] landing, on the Columbia River.

Article 4th.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the Citizens of the United States of America, and all the individuals composing the said Waukikum Band of the Chinook Tribe of Indians.

Article 5th.

This treaty shall take effect, and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall be ratified, by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

In Testimony whereof the said Anson Dart, Superintendent, Henry H. Spaulding Agent, and Josiah L. Parish, aforesaid, and the said Chiefs and Headmen, of the Waukikum Band of the Chinook Tribe of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and seals at the time and place first herein above written.

Anson Dart (Seal)
Superintendent

Henry H. Spaulding (Seal)
Agent

Josiah L. Parish (Seal)
Sub Agent.

Skul-mah-queah	his X (Seal) mark	Stuc-allah-wah	his X (Seal) mark
Hla-hau	his X (Seal) mark	Wall-halsh	his X (Seal) mark
Wal-lah-sah	his X (Seal) mark	Tah-we-os	his X (Seal) mark
Hal-lah-le	his X (Seal) mark	Wa-ke-toes	his X (Seal) mark

Signed Sealed and Witnessed

in presence of

N. Du Bois, Secretary

W. W. Raymond, Interpreter.

R. Shortess

Acting Sub Agent

At the signing of the above articles of this Treaty it was agreed, that upon the ratification of the same, by the President and Senate, Sku-mah-queah should receive a rifle, worth Fifty Dollars, as a present.

TREATY WITH KONNAACK BAND

Treaty at Tansey Point, near Clatsop Plains, between Anson Dart, Supt. Indian Affairs and others on the part of the United States and the Chiefs & Headmen of the Kon-naack Band of the Chinook Tribe of Indians.

Articles of a Treaty made and concluded at Tansey Point near Clatsop Plains, this Eighth day of August Eighteen Hundred and Fifty one, between Anson Dart Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Henry H. Spaulding Indian Agent and Josiah L. Parish Sub Indian Agent, on the part of the United States, of the one part; and the undersigned Chiefs and Headmen of the Konnaack Band, of the Chinook tribe of Indians of the other part.

Article 1st.

The said Konnaack Band, hereby cede to the United States, the tract of land included within the following boundaries viz:

Beginning at the mouth of the Neuc-tuc-hae-Creek, on the North Side of the Columbia River, and running thence up and along the said river to the mouth of the first stream that enters the Columbia above the Cowlitz river, thence up the Cowlitz and following the highland parallel with said river to what is called the Fooshop; thence west to the North East bounds of lands lately claimed by the Waukikum Band of the Chinooks; thence southerly following the eastern boundary of said lands of the Waukikum Band, to the place of beginning. Also the tract of land described as follows, to wit:

Beginning at a point on the South side of the Columbia River, opposite the mouth of the Cowlitz river, running thence South, to lands claimed by the Klats-Kanias; thence westerly along their North boundary to a point due South of Hunts Mill, on the Columbia, thence North to said Mill, thence up and along said river to the place of beginning. The above descriptions, are intended to include all the lands claimed or owned by the said Konnaack Band of Indians.

Article 2nd.

The said Konnaack Band reserve the privilege of occupying their present place of residence on Oak Point, and the privilege of hunting on the lands described above.

Article 3rd.

In consideration of the cession made in the foregoing articles of this Treaty, the United States agree to pay to the said Konnaack Band of Chinook Indians, Ten Thousand five hundred dollars, in annual payments, of Ten Hundred and Fifty dollars for ten years, as follows to wit: one hundred and Fifty dollars in money, Thirty Blankets, Twenty woolen [sic] Coats, Forty Shirts, Thirty pairs Shoes, Twenty Caps, Twenty pairs pants, Twenty Vests, One hundred yards Linsey Plaid, Two hundred yards brown muslin, one hundred yards Calico, Ten Shawls, Fifteen bags flour, one hundred pounds Tobacco, one hundred and fifty pounds Soap, Two hundred pounds Sugar, Ten ten-quart Tin pans, Ten eight-quart tin pans, Six Frying pans, one barrel Salt, one barrel molasses, Six hoes, Six Axes, Ten pounds Tea, Ten Knives, one Keg powder, one hundred pounds shot. All to be of good quality, and delivered at the Burnies landing, on the Columbia River.

Article 4th.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the Citizens of the United States of America, and all the individuals of the said Konnaack Band of Chinook Indians.

Article 5th.

This Treaty shall take effect, and be obligatory on the con-

tracting parties as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

In Testimony whereof, the said Anson Dart, Superintendent Henry H. Spaulding Agent, Josiah L. Parish, Sub Agent Aforesaid, on the part of the United States of the one part, and the said Chiefs and Headmen of the Konaack Band of the Chinook tribe of Indians have hereunto set their hands and seals, at the time and place first herein above written.

Anson Dart, (Seal)
Superintendent.

Henry H. Spaulding (Seal)
Agent

Josiah L. Parish (Seal)
Sub Agent.

Wah-sul-sul	his X (Seal) mark	Qua-Cappa	his X (Seal) mark
Sy-cum-icks	his X (Seal) mark	Qua-Kah	his X (Seal) mark
Tah-my-nin-nus	his X (Seal) mark	Ati-whul	his X (Seal) mark
		Os-wal-licks	his X (Seal) mark

Signed, Sealed and Witnessed
in presence of
Nicholas DuBois, Secretary
W. W. Raymond, Interpreter
R. Shortess,
Acting Sub Agent

Map of Indian Land
Cessions by Unratified
Treaties of 1851 and By
Ratified Treaties of 1859

FEDERAL INDIAN RELATIONS PACIFIC NORTHWEST

INDIAN LAND CESSIONS PROVIDED IN THE UNRATIFIED TREATIES OF 1851 AND THE TREATIES RATIFIED MARCH 8, 1859

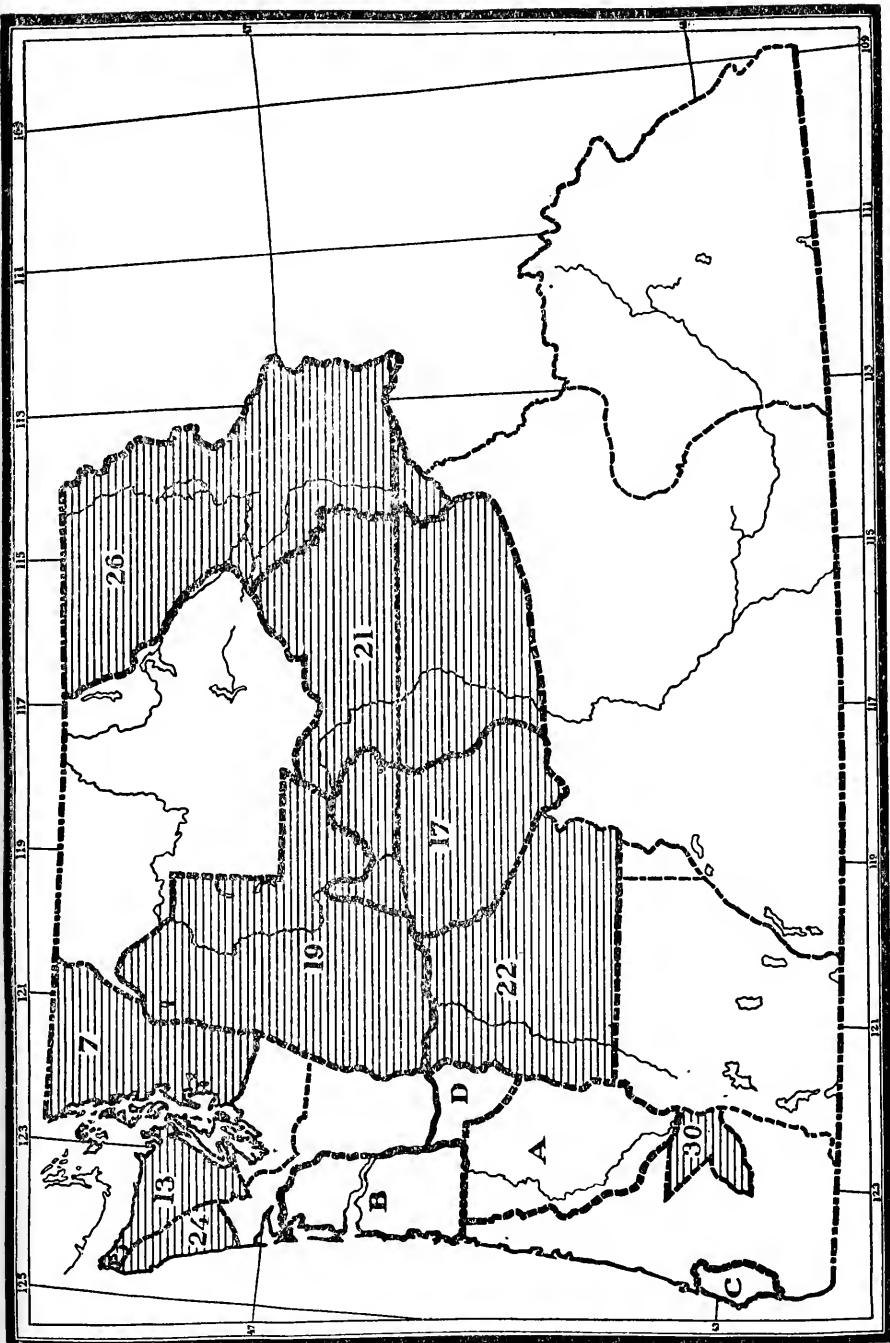
INDIAN LAND CESSIONS OF THE UNRATIFIED TREATIES, 1851

- A Six treaties with the Willamette Valley Indians made by the treaty commissioners, April and May, 1851.
- B Ten treaties with the Chinook Indians made by Anson Dart, August, 1851.
- C Two treaties with the Port Orford Indians made by Anson Dart in the fall of 1851.
- D A treaty with the Clackamas Indians made by Anson Dart in the fall of 1851.

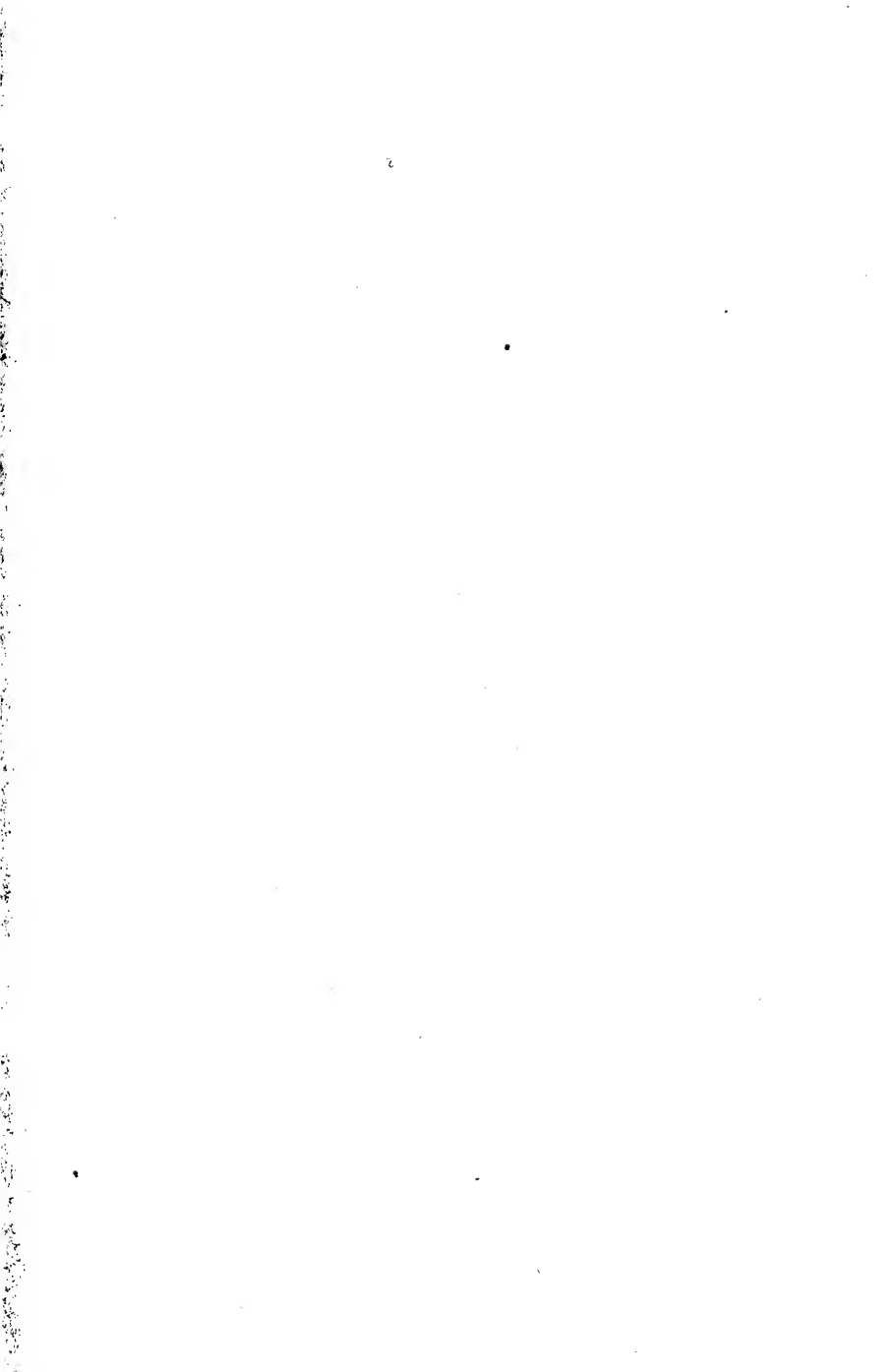
INDIAN LAND CESSIONS OF THE DELAYED TREATIES¹

- No.
- 7-347 *Treaty with the Duwamish, Suquamish, etc., 1855; negotiated January 22, 1855, ratified March 8, 1859.*
 - 13-353 *Treaty with the S'Klallam, 1855; negotiated January 26, 1855, ratified March 8, 1859.*
 - 15-355 *Treaty with the Makah, 1855; negotiated January 31, 1855, ratified March 8, 1859.*
 - 17-362 *Treaty with the Wallawalla, Cayuse, etc., 1855; negotiated June 9, 1855, ratified March 8, 1859.*
 - 19-364 *Treaty with the Yakima, 1855; negotiated June 9, 1855, ratified March 8, 1859.*
 - 21-366 *Treaty with the Nez Percés, 1855; negotiated June 11, 1855, ratified March 8, 1859.*
 - 22-369 *Treaty with the Tribes of Middle Oregon, 1855; negotiated June 25, 1855, ratified March 8, 1859.*
 - 24-371 *Treaty with the Quinaicht, etc., 1855; negotiated July 1, 1855, ratified March 8, 1859.*
 - 26-373 *Treaty with the Flatheads, etc., 1855; negotiated July 16, 1855, ratified March 8, 1859.*
 - 30-401 *Treaty with the Molala, 1855; negotiated December 21, 1855, ratified March 8, 1859.*

¹ The numbers, "347," etc., are those adopted by Royce, *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*.



This map also shows the political divisions of the Pacific Northwest—Oregon Territory and Washington Territory—from March 2, 1853, to February 14, 1859.



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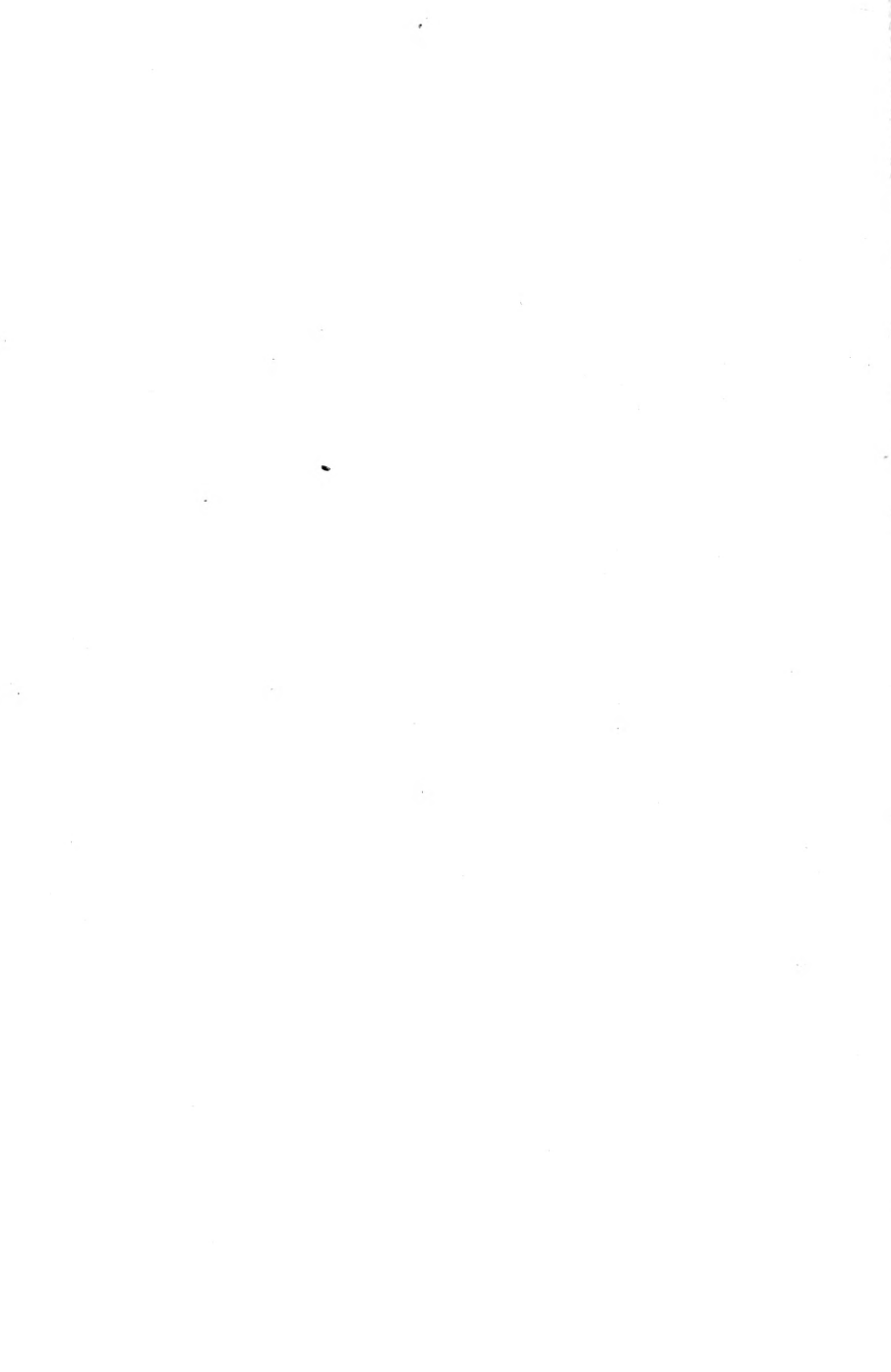


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THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OREGON¹

By T. C. ELLIOTT.

Recent research establishes the fact that the name Oregon is a corruption or variation by Jonathan Carver of the name Ouragon or Ourigan, which was communicated to him by Major Robert Rogers, the English commandant of the frontier military and trading post at Mackinac,² Michigan, during the years (1766-67) of Captain Carver's journey to the upper valley of the Mississippi river and to lake Superior. The evidence in support of this assertion is contained in documents deposited in the Public Records Office at London, England, and now made the basis of this brief discussion. These documents serve to only increase the discredit already attached to the writings of Captain Carver, but the morals of that author do not suffer at all when compared with those of his fellow officer, Major Rogers. Neither of these men seem to have paid any heed to the biblical admonition "be sure your sin will find you out". There were many others with the same moral standards at that period in the world's history.

Connection of the name of Major Robert Rogers with Oregon history is new and entertaining, but a study of the career of that officer is not inspiring. He was born in November,

¹ This contribution supplements "The Strange Case of Jonathan Carver and the Name Oregon" by the same writer, in No. 4 of Vol. 21 of this *Quarterly*, and should be read in connection therewith.

² The common and shorter rendering of the Indian name Michilimackinac, which was in use at that period.

1731, in a pioneer cabin in northeastern Massachusetts, of sturdy and honest parentage, one of a numerous family which soon after removed to the Colony of New Hampshire; and near to where the capital city of Concord now stands the Rogers' homestead was literally hewn out of the forest. Twenty and more years of frontier experience in the region which was then a borderland between the French settlements to the north and the English settlements to the south developed for him a magnificent physique, courage absolutely without fear, and an almost superhuman knowledge of Indian customs and wood-craft, but at the same time, unfortunately, an illicit trade carried on in this borderland, by others and perhaps to some extent by him, seems to have aroused and educated some of the less noble instincts of his mind. He thus very naturally became an astute Indian fighter and the organizer and leader of the famous "Roger's Rangers" of the seven years French and Indian War in North America, during which his bravery in battle, his energy and endurance in the field and his skill in Indian warfare excited the wonder and admiration of his men and fellow officers and gained him a national reputation. Then followed thirty years of more or less continuous debauchery of both mind and body, when his audacity in dealings with superior officers and in seeking personal preferment and gain was astounding, and his duplicity, marital infidelity, and disloyalty to relatives, friends and country were disgusting. During the War of the Revolution he first espoused the cause of the Colonies but was suspected of being a spy and escaped from confinement in Philadelphia about the time of the Declaration of Independence. Later he fell under suspicion while recruiting officer for the British in Canada and fled to England. The last fifteen years of his life were spent in obscurity and low living on an officer's half pay in London, where he died in May, 1795, and the place of his burial is today unknown. This brief summary is sufficient for the present purpose.³

³ This estimate is based largely upon the research of Allan Nevins, editor of the Caxton Club Edition of Rogers' book entitled "*Ponteach; Or The Savages of America.*"

It is well to get clearly in mind the chronological sequence of Jonathan Carver's book and the documents referred to and reproduced herewith. Captain Carver's "Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America", which has had such a remarkable vogue in literature and contains our first known mention of the name OREGON, was published in London in the year 1778, from manuscript finally prepared just previous to publication but based upon "journals and charts" (to use Carver's own words) claimed to have been made during his journey to the West in 1766-67, and while at Mackinac, in the fall of 1767. A proposal or petition by Major Rogers to the King's Privy Council containing the name Ouragon bears date in August, 1765; and a similar proposal by Major Rogers containing the name Ourigan bears date in February, 1772. A petition by Captain Carver to the King's Privy Council, showing the original association of Carver with Major Rogers for the purpose of Western exploration, was acted upon in May, 1769; and a later petition by Captain Carver, which shows that the journals and charts aforesaid had been and then still were deposited with the Board of Trade, London, bears date in November, 1773. Not only did Major Rogers put into writing the name Ouragon during the year before he engaged Captain Carver to undertake a Western journey but none of the several petitions (as far as yet examined) by Captain Carver contain the name Oregon, although mentioning other localities he visited in the West.

Our special interest is in Major Rogers' knowledge of the geography of the interior parts of North America. His first visit to the Great Lakes was in the Fall of 1760. After the capture of Montreal in September of that year Gen. Jeffrey Amherst, then commanding the British forces in America, detailed him with about two hundred men to accept the surrender of the various French military posts as far west as Mackinac in Michigan. This was a duty quite suited to him and it was performed with energy and dispatch, for he was back at headquarters in New York City on the 14th of Feb-

ruary following. The French garrison at Mackinac had evacuated voluntarily and he returned from Detroit, traveling almost alone by the forest trails of Ohio to Pittsburg and from there across Pennsylvania to Philadelphia and New York.

While on his way out to Detroit an incident occurred which was of far reaching influence. The major and his men were proceeding along the southern shore of lake Erie and landed one day near the site of the present city of Cleveland. Some Indians appeared and demanded that he proceed no further until their chief arrived to talk to him. That chief turned out to be the famous Pontecac, who already had knowledge of the prowess of Major Rogers on the field of battle. They now met in council with due ceremonies, first that evening and again the next morning. Major Rogers was as calm and audacious before the council fire as he had been in the fighting line. Pontecac listened to the reasons for his presence and decided not to oppose the transfer of authority over the country from French to English. Later when at Detroit the tricolor of France was lowered and the cross of Saint George raised in its stead not only did the garrison of French soldiers outnumber those under Major Rogers but the assembled Indians were numerous enough to overwhelm both; and Pontecac was there to hold them in restraint.

Major Rogers again visited the West in the summer of 1763 with the detachment sent by General Amherst to put down the general uprising of that year. The fort at Mackinac was captured by the Indians that summer by a clever ruse; Francis Parkman has graphically described the events of the year in his volumes entitled "The Conspiracy of Pontecac" and makes prominent mention of Rogers. He was not in command of the expedition but acted rather as its guide, with twenty picked men under him. The route was familiar because the same he had traveled in 1760. By quiet and swift advances the boats reached the fort at Detroit in the early morning of July 28th before the Indians were aware of it and carried relief to Colonel Gladwyn and the garrison there. That success

turned the heads of some of the British officers and an attack on the Indian camp was undertaken with great disaster. Major Rogers did gallant service in assisting to rescue a part of those who took part in the battle of Bloody Run. When the Indians began to retire from Detroit in the Fall Col. Gladwyn reduced the numbers of his garrison and, in November, Major Rogers journeyed to Niagara.⁴ In January he returned to New York and retired from active service. During this year he had fallen under the special displeasure of Sir William Johnson, Supt. of Indian Affairs in America, because of rather open activity in the Indian trade while an army officer, a misdemeanor he had been suspected of in years previous. The major's private affairs were in bad condition; he was deeply in debt and an appetite for drink and gaming added to other troubles. His nominal home was at Portsmouth, N. H., where he had married.

After a year of vicarious living, with creditors continually at his elbows, Major Rogers determined to retrieve his fortunes by political means and we find him in England in the spring of 1765. He was welcomed in London very cordially. Many of his former army associates were there to show him attentions. His military exploits were deservedly well known and during the popularity of the hour his moral lapses were overlooked. He boldly sought a position which it would have been impossible for him to have received through the regular channels of appointment in America, and political influence was strong enough to command it. One method of his application was the proposal of August, 1765, which is reproduced herewith. The main request of that proposal was ignored but the king's minister sent his name to Gen. Gage with instructions that he be appointed governor commandant at the important frontier post of Mackinac.

It is this proposal which contains the name *Ouragon*. In it Major Rogers distinctly says that the name came to him from the Indians and it has already been indicated when that might have been possible. In 1760 his stay at Detroit and vicinity

⁴ Allan Nevins says Rogers' companions on this journey were two Mohawk Indians. See *Ponteach*, p. 91.

was brief but seemingly well used. He was on cordial relations with chief Pontecac, and, according to the record,⁵ had many interviews with that famous warrior. They even discussed matters of empire together. At the same time opportunity was open to him to talk with traders and voyageurs who had been going into the country beyond the great lakes for many years; Frenchmen of course, or French-Canadians, for the English had not yet been in that field. In 1763 came similar opportunities, and that year he was suspected of being directly interested in certain transactions of trade at Niagara. That was the year of the Treaty of Paris by which France ceded to England all of Louisiana East of the Mississippi river, and this field for adventure no doubt was alluring to a man like Major Rogers. His active service thus far had been in New England, New York and Canada, and during 1761-2 in the south campaigning against the Cherokees.

During his stay in London, and doubtless to urge his appointment, two books were published there with the name of Major Robert Rogers on the title pages. One of these was the "Journals" of his military service from 1755 to 1763; the other was a treatise entitled "A Concise Account of North America" and descriptive of the colonies from Newfoundland to the Floridas and of the newly acquired districts in the interior. Just when and where Robert Rogers acquired an ability in writing is unknown, and in fact the preparation of these books has by some been attributed to one Potter, who acted in a secretarial capacity for him at times. These books were well timed as to publication, were creditable in style and contents, and were welcomed by the public and praised by the press. "A Concise Account" contains many interesting and accurate observations of those parts of North America he had personally traveled over but is in parts a compilation from books already printed. Neither of these books contains any mention of the name Ouragon or Ourigan. In fact in "A Concise Account," at page 152, the closing paragraph of a brief chapter on The Interior Country reads as follows: "The principal rivers of

⁵ According to Nevins in *Pontecac*, p. 86.

North America are, St. Lawrence, communicating with the sea at the Gulf of St. Lawrence; the Mississippi, which flows into the Gulf of Mexico, and the Christineaux, which discharges itself into Hudson's Bay. There are great numbers of smaller note, that join these in their courses from the heights of the country to the seas." In the introduction the author plainly states that his information about the more western country was derived from the Indians. He himself up to that time had not been further west than Detroit and in later years never went further than Mackinac. Another book entitled "Ponteach; or the Savages of America," published anonymously in the winter of 1766 after Major Rogers had returned to America, was evidently inspired if not actually written by him. It is in the form of a drama and contains nothing of interest to this discussion.

The position of governor commandant at Mackinac did not free Major Rogers from his debts and bad habits but rather increased both. He paid little attention to the regulations laid down by his superiors, General Gage and Supt. Johnson, and administered the affairs of the Post arbitrarily and extravagantly. He sent agents into the West without authority and engaged personally in the Indian trade. He was suspected of planning an uprising of the Indians and of negotiations with the French at New Orleans and St. Louis. In December he was arrested by orders from Gen. Gage and the following May was taken to Montreal for trial, which in December resulted in acquittal from the technical charges but suspension from the office. Failure in America to obtain restitution took him to London again, in July, 1769. He was for a time again received there with favor and was able to secure payment of expense and salary drafts which had been dishonored in America. This money satisfied only some of his most greedy creditors and he served a term in the Fleet street debtors prison; and political influence soon deserted him. Although remaining in London until the growing troubles in the colonies lured him back to America he was able to secure no positive

recognition. Jonathan Carver had come to London before him and the one assisted the other in appeals for financial aid and opportunity to return to the field of western trade and adventure, but Carver was an amateur as compared with Rogers. The second proposals or petitions of both, which are herewith reproduced, are incidents of those years.

As governor commandant at Mackinac from August, 1766 to December, 1767, Major Rogers had abundant opportunity to inquire of Indians and voyageurs and traders about the country toward the Rocky mountains and beyond, and perhaps this accounts for the more intelligent details of the route outlined to be traveled by the expedition he, in 1772, proposed to lead to the Pacific ocean, as given in his second proposal. In 1765 he had intended to portage directly from the Minnesota river into the Ouragon and evidently believed the upper Missouri was the Ouragon flowing westward from a source in Minnesota. But by 1772 he had learned that the Missouri must be ascended to its source before reaching the Ouragon. Here is early geographical data that has not before come to our attention; an outline of the outward journey by Lewis and Clark in 1805 and of part of the instructions by the British ministry to Captain James Cook in 1776. The existence of a Northwest Passage was naturally a subject for discussion among army officers in America as well as by officials and ship owners in England, and Major Rogers' proposal in a way only reflects that common topic of conjecture and conversation. But, to his credit be it said, his "proposal" discloses knowledge of the transcontinental route which antedates that contained in any book or document or shown on any map prior to that date or for many years afterward.

In his first proposal Major Rogers states that he had employed Indians, at his own expense, to follow the various streams to their outlets in the Pacific and the Northern ocean. That assertion must be dismissed as being merely in keeping with the character and needs of the man who made it, and as neither the whole truth or nothing but the truth. It is much

more reasonable to suppose that he gathered his data directly from French traders or habitants at Detroit or Niagara, or indirectly through the Mohawk Indians of New York, with whom he was intimate. It will be remembered that the Mohawks and allied tribes were friendly to the English in the French and Indian War; and that these tribes were members of the great Iroquoian family which sent so many trappers and canoemen into the fur trade in the west.

Major Rogers, in 1765, said that the Indians called the then mythical river flowing into the always mythical Straits of Anian the Ouragon; and his later spelling (in 1772) is probably merely a careless reiteration of the same name. Granting that tale to be true does not mean that this was a name current among the Rocky mountain or the Plains tribes, or those of Minnesota. It might rather have been a name applied by the Mohawks, or some other of the Iroquoian tribes of New York or Canada.⁶ With them it would not have been a name currently used, but one mentioned only in response to inquiry, or by some retired canoeman or trapper; and might have been a French name. The French had been going into the Mississippi valley and to the region of lake Winnipeg and its tributary streams for many years prior to 1760: They were the fore-runners of exploration and trade in those regions, and the Iroquois who accompanied them necessarily heard and used words of the French tongue.

In the application of place names it was the custom of Indians to use a name descriptive of some physical feature of a stream, or of the locality through which it flowed, and the same custom prevailed among the French. When the French bestowed a name they did so either in honor of some saint in their religious calendar, or by some descriptive word. Every state in the Old Northwest and in Old Oregon contains many instances of such nomenclature. The name Ouragon is practically the same as Ouragan, a word to be found in any French dictionary meaning windstorm, hurricane or tornado. The River of the West was, in 1765 et circa, supposed to rise in

⁶ Classified by ethnologists as very intelligent Indians and whose dialect would have permitted the pronunciation of this name.

western Minnesota and to flow westward through Dakota and Montana, where blizzards in winter and tornadoes in summer are still known to prevail. And we may carry the analogy still further. It is a meteorological fact that what is known in Oregon as the Chinook Wind does at times exert a remarkable influence even in Montana and Dakota. The River of the West was flowing into the region from which *that* remarkable wind came and hence called, by some Indians or Frenchmen, the Ouragon.⁷ This seems to be the origin of the name OREGON. The map makers of those years did not get hold of the name. It was obscure.

As to Jonathan Carver's dependence upon Robert Rogers there are proofs in abundance but the discussion of that relationship will more properly be in connection with another document which discloses the plans of Major Rogers for his agents in the west. As to the name OREGON however attention is called to the brief endorsement at the end of the second of the documents herewith reproduced; "Lent the two plans to Capt. Carver 15 Feb. 1775." It is thus revealed that Carver had these two proposals to draw from when completing his book and his map.⁸

⁷ It would be much more picturesque to suggest that Pontecac told Rogers the name in November-December, 1760; and that is possible though not probable. Also see *Or. Hist. Quar.*, Vol. 21, pp. 351 and 354.

⁸ On Carver's map the name is spelled Origan.

FIRST PROPOSAL

From Public Record Office, Colonials Off., Class 323,
Vol. 18, p. 327.

A Proposal¹ by Robert Rogers Esq. formerly Major Commandt. of His Majesty's Rangers in North America, founded on his Observations and Experience, during the Space of Eight Years in the least known parts of that great Continent. Humbly Submitted to the Wisdom of the Kings most Excellent Majesty and his Ministers.

Major Rogers was originally brought into the Service from the Knowledge he was presumed to have of the Country, his Capacity for making Discoverys, his Strength of Constitution in undergoing Fatigues, his willingness to Execute any Orders he received from his Superiors, and his Talent for Conciliating the Friendships of the Indians; in all which he Distinguished himself, through the Course of Eight Years with the Approbation of the several Officers, who had the Honour to Command His Majestys Troops in those parts, from whom he has not the least Doubt that he shall be able to obtain the fullest Testimonies of his Character and Capacity for the Executing of all that he has the Honour to propose, for the benefit and Advantage of the British Interests in that Wide-Spread Empire, which the Glorious Successes of the late War, added to His Majesty's Dominions, and the Title to which, has been Settled and Confirmed by the peace.

Major Rogers thinks it his Duty to Represent, that he has been very attentive to, and prosecuted, with the utmost assiduity, every Inquiry in his power, in reference to the real Existance of a North-West passage;² In Consequence of which, he has obtained a Moral certainty, that such a passage there really is. For this purpose he Employed at his own Expence certain Indians to Explore the distant Rivers & their Outlets, either into the pacific or the Northern Ocean; and in regard to the latter, he has received such Lights as he thinks cannot possibly deceive him. In a true Confidence of which he is

¹ The disposition of this petition is indicated by the third paragraph of the second petition, immediately following.

² In 1745 the British Parliament offered a prize of twenty thousand pounds to any private navigator who would sail his vessel through a North-West Passage into Hudson's Bay. The offer did not include a land discovery. In 1776 the act was amended to include any ship of the royal navy.

willing with 200 Men under proper Officers (a List of which Officers, he has ready to be presented when required) to Undertake a March for the Discovery of it, which tho' of great Length and Difficulty, will be not a little Facilitated and Shortened by the help of Indian Guides, & having Water Carriage a great part of the way, & by the carrying either of Bark Canoes from one River to another, or felling Trees on the Banks & making fresh Canoes where it shall be found Necessary.

The Rout Major Rogers proposes to take, is from the Great Lakes towards the Head of the Mississippi, and from thence to the River called by the Indians Ouragon, which flows into a Bay that projects North-Eastwardly into the (Country?) [multilined] from the Pacific Ocean, and there to Explore the said Bay and it's Outlets, and also the Western Margin of the Continent to such a Northern Latitude as shall be thought necessary.

Should this Design be patronized, Major Rogers thinks it would be Expedient and absolutely necessary, to Subserve this proposal, that he should be Appointed Governor Commandant of His Majesty's Garrison of Michlimakana and its Dependancies on the Great Lakes, & that he has a Deputy-Governor Commandant who is well acquainted with the Manners of the Indians, to remain constantly at the said Garrison, on whose Diligence, Steadiness and Integrity he can rely, and from whom at his Setting out, & while on his Journey, as well as at his Return, he may depend upon receiving what Assistance shall be requisite; And that the General Commanding in Chief³ in North America, & Sir William Johnson⁴ have Orders to give him their Assistance in their respective Departments as Occasion may require.

The proposal thus Encouraged, notwithstanding the Length & the Fatigues of such a Journey by Land, Major Rogers will undertake to perfect the whole, in about Three Years, and Transmit to Great Britain an Authentic Account whether there is, or is not, such a passage, which in either Case he apprehends

³ At that time Gen. Thomas Gage, with headquarters in New York.

⁴ The Superintendent of Indian Affairs in America, residing near Albany at what became known as Johnson Hall.

would be of great Utility, in as much as it would for the future, put an End to Repeated, Hazardous and Expensive attempts for the Discovery by Sea. On the other hand, if there be, as (he repeats it) he is confident there is, such a passage in the Latitude of 50 Degrees North, where it communicates with the pacific, but much further where it joins the Atlantic or Northern Ocean, it may and indeed must prove of inexpressible Benefit to this Nation by Establishing a Communication with Japan, and perhaps with nearer and hitherto unknown Rich Counties in the East, where both British and American Commodities might fetch large prices, and a New and Valuable Commerce be Opened and Secured to His Majesty's Subjects, which has been long wished for, and often attempted, but has never hitherto been Effected.

Major Rogers has Spent many years in the Service of his King and Country, in which he has been Exposed to the greatest Fatigue, and to a continual Series of Dangers, received several Wounds, been exposed to the worst Consequences of Expensive Law Suits, merely on Account of the Service, by which he has been reduced, and indeed Ruined in his private Fortune, without any other Reward than the Slender Subsistence arising from a Captains Half pay though he has a Commission, and is Intitled to the Rank of Major from April 1758.

He therefore humbly presumes, if his past Services are considered, the Hardships he has endured, his present Situation: his Expensive Voyage from America hither in order to obtain Redress & the proposals he now makes for Entering into a fresh (course?) [nearly worn away] of Difficulties and Fatigues for the purpose of rendring fresh Services to the Crown & Kingdom, his proposal will be candidly Examined; And upon such Examination, he doubts not to produce such Authentic Vouchers as may Entitle him to His Majesty's protection, and the Favour of the present Administration.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE EXPENSE THAT WILL ATTEND THE PROPOSED MARCH IN QUEST OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE, VIZ.:

£ “ s “ d

Major Rogers, Captain Commandant of the
Proposed Company with such Rank in the Army as
His Majesty shall be pleased to give him from his
being a Major of his Rangers since April 6th,
1758

	s	d	
4 Second Captains	at 10 “	.. per diem is	2 “ .. “ ..
4 First Lieutenants	at 4 “	8 Do	“ 18 “ 8
4 Second Do	at 4 “	8 Do	“ 18 “ 8
1 Ensign	at 3 “	8 Do	“ 3 “ 8
1 Adjutant	at 3 “	8 Do	“ 3 “ 8
1 Quarter Master	at 3 “	.. Do	“ 3 “ ..
1 Surgeon	at 4 “	8 Do	“ 4 “ 8
3 Surgeons Mates	at 3 “	.. Do	“ 9 “ ..
1 Chaplain	at 4 “	.. Do	“ 4 “ ..
8 Serjeants	at 2 “	6 Do	1 “ .. “ ..
200 private Men	at 2 “	.. Do	20 “ .. “ ..
<hr/>			
Daily Expense	26 “	5 “	4
Annual Do	587 “	6 “	8
For 3 years Service	28,762 “	.. “	..

To be added—800 Steel Traps for Catching }
Beaver and other Game for the use of the } 420 “ .. “ ..
Detachment at 10/6 }

For purchasing Cloathing, Wampum & other }
Boons to gain the Friendship of the Indians } 3,000 “ .. “ ..
thro' whose Countrys we must pass. }

Total Expense £32,182 “ .. “ ..

Exclusive of Ammunition & provisions.

One year of the Company's Subsistance to
be Advanced to Equip themselves with proper
Necessaries for their March, the Remainder of
their Subsistance to be paid at their Return.

Cash likewise to be Advanced for purchas-
ing the 800 Steel Traps. }

Money also to be Advanced for purchas-
ing Wampum and other Necessarys as above
Expressed. }

The Men will take their own Arms with them, so that the
[Gov]ernment will be at no Expense for them, but an Ar-
mourer to keep them in Repair.

[Endorsed] PLANT^s GEN'L.

A proposal by Robert Rogers Esq., formerly Major Com-
mandant of His Majesty's Rangers in North America, for the
discovery of a North-West Passage.

Recd. August 12}
Read Sept. 6 } 1765

Copied from the original
Read & Corrected
S. May Osler.

SECOND PROPOSAL

From Public Record Office, Colonial Offices, Class 323,
Vol. 27, p. 143.

To the King's most excellent Majesty in Council

The Petition of Major Robert Rogers, most humbly sheweth :

That in the Month of September 1765, Your Majesty's Petitioner preferred a Proposal to the Board of Trade and Plantation, for an Attempt by land to discover a navigable Passage by the North-West, From the Atlantic, into the great Pacific Ocean.

That the great national Advantages which might result to Commerce and Navigation, from that Discovery, proposed to be attempted across the great Continent of North-America, were submitted to Your Majesty, by Representation from their Lordships the then Comissioners of Trade &c.

That Your Majesty by Order in Council of the second of October 1765, was pleased to refer the said Proposal and Representation, to their Lordships of the Comittee of Your Privy Council, who, on the third of October 1765 were pleased to postpone the Consideration thereof.

That Your Majesty's Petitioner, has since been employed in an important Comand in the Midst of the interior Parts of the great Continent of North-America, in which through his Official Intercourse with the numerous savage Nations and through divers Persons who had served as provincial Officers during the last War, and were especially ordered out to explore remoter Parts of the Country ; he collected a great Fund of additional Intelligence, tending to assure, evince, and almost positively establish the Existence of a navigable Passage by the North-West, from the Atlantic, into the great Pacific Ocean, and that the Discovery is only practicable by Land.

That from the vast Distances to which the interior Country has been explored since the proposal of the Year 1765 ; from the Extension of Settlement, from comercial Intercourse, and Alliances with the remoter Tribes of Indians, and the Peace

and Harmony generally prevailing among them Your Majesty's Petitioner is convinced that a smaller Number of Adventurers, than that at First proposed for this Enterprize, will provide against the Contingent of Mortality: and that therefore the Expence of his First Proposal, may be reduced to a very moderate Sum.

Wherefore; and because the probable Permanency of Peace, renders it unlikely that the Petitioner should have any sudden Recall into that Walk of Service, in which his Former Efforts against Your Majesty's Enemies, were neither unsuccessful, nor are he hopes Forgotten: He most humbly, from an ardent Desire to be usefully employed, beseeches Your Majesty to order; that the Consideration of that great national Object be now resumed, and that Your Majesty's Petitioner may be directed forthwith to attempt by Land the Discovery of a navigable Passage by the North-West from the atlantic into the great Pacific Ocean, according to the following Route and Estimate.

Route for Major Robert Rogers, in the Proposed Attempt by Land, across the great Continent of North-America, to discover a navigable Passage by the North-West, from the atlantic, into the great Pacific Ocean.

It is meant to begin early in the Spring to engage the Adventurers who are to associate for the Undertaking: In the Fit Choice of these, the Proposer's Experience, as former Commandant of Rangers, will prove an unerring Direction: They are to assemble at the intended Rendezvous of Schenectady, in or about the Middle of the Month of May; at which Place Batteaux, Ammunition, and every Species of Implement for the undertaking, will have been previously collected. In Order to it, the proper Officer of the Board of Ordnance, and the Deputy to the Quartermaster general in North-America should be directed to answer the Proposer's Demands in their respective Departments.

Here it is proposed to embark, on the Mohawk River, and to stem that Stream to Fort Stanwix: From that Place to follow the Wood Creek to the Lake of Oneida, and to pass that Lake:

To follow the Onondago River to Oswego upon Ontario Lake: and to coast the South Shore of that Lake to the Post of Niagara. To pass the Portage of the great Falls of that Name, and to enter the (river issuing?) [obliterated] from Lake Erie: To stem that River and to follow the Northern Shore of Lake Erie up to the River of Detroit: To cross the small Lake of Saint Clair, into the River Huron; to stem this River up to the Lake of that Name, and to coast the western Shore of that Lake to the Strait and Post of Michilimakinak: To cross the north End of Lake Michigan, to the Green Bay, where formerly was the Post of La Baye: To enter the Sakis River, to stem it to the carrying Place, and to cross that to the River Ouisconçens: To pursue the Course of this River to the Junction with the Mississippi, and to work-up against the Stream of that great River to the Fall of Saint Antoine, where it is proposed to arrive about the Middle of the Month of September, and to pass the First Winter.

Here the Men will be employed in Housing for the Winter, in trapping Beaver for present Consumption; in gathering wild Rice; and in curing Buffalo and Venison, against the Breaking-up in the ensuing Spring, and their Subsistence onward.

From the Falls of Saint Antoine it is proposed to depart in the Month of April of the second Year: to enter the River Saint Pierre,¹ and to stem that to the Source in about the forty fourth Degree of Latitude: To cross a twenty Mile Portage into a Branch of the Missouri, and to stem that north-westerly to the Source: To cross thence a Portage of about thirty Miles, into the great River Ourigan: to follow this great River, through a vast, and most populos Tract of Indian Country to the Straits of Anian, and the Gulf or Bay projecting thence north-easterly into the Continent and there to pass the second Winter.

Here an Intercourse of Traffic will be opened with the Indians, to procure every necessary Article of Subsistence. A Stock of Cod-Fish, and other Victualling will be cured, & a Purchase of Boats or Craft, peculiar to these Parts will be completed.

¹ Now the Minnesota river. Its source is at about 45° 45' and a portage directly west to the Missouri river would be about 150 miles.

Early in the Spring the Adventurers will proceed to explore every Inlet, Nook, or Bay, from the Straits of Anian to Hudson's Bay, between which it is expected to find the navigable Passage, or Communication in Question.

The Proposer is induced to verge along the western Coast of the Continent, and to trace the Straits of Anian, and the Bay or Gulf projecting thence toward Hudson's Bay, the better to avoid an Exposure to the intolerable Rigor of the Winds, which on the Coast of Hudson's Bay, blow almost incessantly from the Pole. But the Point being established and the great national Purpose of the Expedition accomplished; it will become necessary to consult on the Expediency or Practicability of dividing the Party, and leaving the greater Number to winter at the Hudson's Bay Entrance of the Passage; to be ready the ensuing Season to navigate, or pilot through the Ship or Vessel, which may be dispatched to pass through into the great pacific Ocean since such a Measure if practicable (would doubtless prove most?) [obliterated] eligible and satisfactory: But if an untoward, or hostile Temper in the Savages there, or an Impossibility of subsisting during the Winter in these inhospitable Latitudes should render the Return of the whole Party, the only Alternative, it is urged, and may be insisted upon, that Accuracy in Observation, and perfect Exactitude in delineating the requisite Charts or Maps, will fully answer the End, and every Purpose, although it should prove in some Degree less satisfactory.

The Temperature of the Weather, and the almost constant Direction of the Winds on the western Coast of North-America, from the pacific Ocean, will render it most eligible to return north-westerly between the Islands of Japan, and the Pole, through that great Archipelago which bounds the Sea (heretofore supposed a Continent) between America and Kamtchatka the north-east Point of Asia; to return through Siberia, Russia, &c: &c: to Great Britain.

London 11th February 1772

ROBERT ROGERS, Major.

Estimate for the Attempt proposed by Land across the great Continent of North America, to discover a navigable Passage by the North-West, from the Atlantic into the great pacific Ocean, by Major Robert Rogers.

For himself as Director and Conductor in the Enterprize	3	“	0	“	0
For an intelligent Associate.....	1	“	5	“	0
For a second ditto	1	“	5	“	0
For two Draftsmen 15s each.....	1	“	10	“	0
For one skillfull Surgeon		“	10	“	0
For fifty common Hunters 4s each.....	10	“	0	“	0

daily Charge, Sterling £17 “ 10 “ 0

The Time required will be three Years and a litle more, from the Outlet till the Return to Great Britain, and the Contingency requiring present Allowance, is for Presents of all Sorts to distribute to the many savage Nations, through which the Party is obliged to pass progressively onwardSterling £4,000 “ 0 “ 0

London 11: February 1772.

ROBERT ROGERS. Major.

[Endorsed] Petition of Major Robt. Rogers Praying that the Consideration of his Scheme for an Attempt by Land to Discover a Navigable Passage by the North West from the Atlantic to the Great Pacifick Ocean may be now resumed &c. &c.

Re. 11th Feby 1772

17th Do Refd. to a Committee

25th Do Read at the Committee
and Refd. to the Board of Trade.

lent the two Plans to

Capt. Carver 15 Feb. 1775

Copied from the Original

Read and Corrected.

S. May Osler.

CARVER'S FIRST PETITION

From P. R. O. Colonial Office, Class 323, Vol. 28, p. 153.

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty in Council

The Petition of Captain Jonathan Carver, late Commander of
a Company of Provincial Troops of Massachusetts Bay in
New England

Most humbly Sheweth,

That Your Majestys Petitioner having had such Command as aforesaid and having from his Service therein gained some knowledge of the Indian Languages and Customs, and of part of the Interior and unfrequented parts of America was in the Month of May 1766 applied to at Boston in America by Captain Robert Rogers late Commandant of Michillimackinac, who alledged he had Instructions¹ and was armed with all proper power and Authority from Your Majesty to employ able and fit persons to explore the interior and unknown Tracts of the Continent of America at the back of Your Majestys Colonies, and to Inspect the same and make Observations Surveys and Draughts thereof, And the said Captain Rogers to Induce Your petitioner to undertake so hazardous an Employ, assured your said Petitioner that he should be provided with fit persons to Assist him therein, who should have every necessary provided for them at the Expence of Government, and be properly rewarded for such Service in so dangerous and hazardous an Undertaking, and that Your Majestys said petitioner should have all Incidental Expences whatsoever defrayed, And also eight Shillings a Day for such his Service; until his Return from such Expedition to his own Residence in New England, and Captain Rogers also promised and Engaged that the Journals plans & other Discoveries to be made by your said petitioner should not be required of him 'till the Terms and Conditions aforesaid were fully satisfied and paid to your said petitioner.

That Captain Rogers at the Time he so applied to your

¹ Major Rogers had no such instructions. There is no mention here of any search for the North-West Passage.

petitioner being just returned from Great Britain, and bearing Your Majestys Commission, your petitioner reposed an Entire Confidence in such his pretended power and Authority, and engaged himself with proper assistance to undertake the Expedition, and the Time fixed for your petitioners departure being very short, and your said petitioner having every thing to provide would not permit your petitioner to apply to General Gage, but your petitioner had the honor to Represent the Engagement, to his Excellency Governor Bernard² for his opinion and has a Letter from his Excellency on the Subject now in his Custody.

That your petitioner set forward with proper Assistance on such his Employment the first day of May 1766, on this most dangerous fatiguing and Expensive Service, and was absent for near two years and an half³ during which time your petitioner Explored to the Westward of Michillimackinac on the Heads of the Great River Mississippi and west from thence almost to the South Sea⁴ and on the West and North of the great Lakes on that Continent, and the Disbursements your petitioner was Directed to make to facilitate his Progress amongst such a variety of Savage Nations of Indians which were very heavy, will be the entire Ruin of your said petitioner without your Majestys most Gracious Interposition in his favour—

That your petitioner hath made several Discoveries which he Imagines will be of great publick Use, which are Comprized in his Journals and Charts taken on the Spot none of which have been hitherto published or Discovered to any person—

That upon your petitioners Return from his Travels to Michillimackinac, he found, to his great Astonishment Captain Rogers confined,⁵ charged with being a Traitor to his King and Country—

That your petitioner finding himself by his misplaced Confidence deceived by Captain Rogers represented the Engagements he had made with him, and the Fatigues he had under-

² At that time governor of the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

³ Captain Carver left Boston in May, 1766; arrived at Mackinac in August, 1766; left there for the West Sept. 6, 1766; returned the last of August, 1767; remained at Mackinac until May or June, 1768; reached Boston again in August, 1768.

⁴ The extreme western point reached by Capt. Carver was probably about forty miles Northwest of Minneapolis on the Mississippi river. The Pacific ocean was then often referred to as the South Sea.

⁵ This is a direct misrepresentation. Major Rogers was not placed under arrest at Mackinac until December, 1767, and Captain Carver was free to consult with him during three months of that Fall.

gone in Consequence, to the officers of the Garrison, and afterwards to General Gage, and Governor Bernard, and was Examined by them respectively, and had the honor of their promises to use their Endeavours to serve your petitioner, to whose Reports your petitioner humbly begs leave to refer, and also to his own Journals and Plans, ready to be produced to Your Majesty, which Your petitioner humbly hopes may be of great publick Utility.

Your petitioner therefore most humbly prays your Majesty to take this hard Case into Your Royal Consideration for such his Services, and the great Expences he has been put to in this very perilous undertaking, Your petitioner submitting not only to be examined as Your Majesty shall direct but to produce all his Journals plans and Charts of the several Discoveries he has made—

And Your Majestys petitioner shall ever pray &ca.

JONATHAN CARVER⁶

Copied and compared by
Henry John Brown.

CARVER'S OTHER PETITION

From P. R. O. Colonial Office, Class 5, Vol. 115, p. 17.

Most Gracious Sovereign

With the Deepest Humility, I most Humbly beg leave to prostrate myself at Your Majestys Feet, and pray that my unhappy case, set forth in my Memorial Humbly Delivered to Your Majesty the Eleaventh of August, May at this time, so far meet with Your Royal indulgence, as not to be thought to Trespass too far on Your Royal Goodness. Dread Sire, permit me, Most Humbly to assure Your Majesty, That, Tho I Experience in many Respects, the utmost Distress that want can produce, Yet it can hardly equal, the Pain I feel in Giving so much inquietude to the Royal Repose; Yet Necessity, and

⁶ This petition was referred to a committee of the Council on May 3rd, 1769, and by that committee on June 21st to the Board of Trade for consideration and report, and reported back by them Nov. 20, 1769. Capt. Carver sailed from Massachusetts for England on Feb. 22nd, 1769. Major Rogers arrived in England in June or July, 1769.

I trust some Degree of merit in me, and the Royal Goodness so Frequently Distinguished in instances of the like Kind, Gives me Hope, That my services in the Army, Together with my more Recent Travels into the interior Countrys of America, Newly Subjected to Your Majesty, and taking Plans and Journals of the same, may in some Measure plead in favour of this importunity, That a Proposed Publication of my Plans and Journals During their Novelty, did so far attract the attention of the Public, That Numerous Subscriptions were Opened for that Purpose, Rather Promising great advantages to the Author, But as I Humbly Conceived it my Duty first to make a Tender of my services to my Most Gracious Sovereign, Esteeming it my Greatest Happiness to be His Servant, And to be intitled to Your Royal Bounty, as by order of Your Majesty in Council Dated at St. James' 29th of November 1769, When my Plans and Journals (acquired by Hardships and Dangers of every Kind, and that only, with the utmost Resolution and Perseverence) were ordered to be Deposited in the office of the Right Honorable Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, That by advice of my Friends, in Particular Sr. John Pringle Bart, I have made Application to The Right Honorable The Earl of Dartmouth for leave to pursue my Discoveries, or that I might be appointed as Superintendent among those Remote Nations of Indians which appeared to me, That the interest of the Public Stood in Need of; That I most Humbly Beg leave to add that the utmost of my wishes do not Exceed the smallest allowance, or Some Temporary Relief until I can, Or may be, Honoured with some Employment in Your Majesty's Service, which I should Esteem, the greatest Happiness all which I most Humbly Submit. To My most Gracious and Most Mercifull Sovereign Lord The King, who I wish may Live for ever Which is, and Shall be Ever, the Constant Prayer of the Most Loyal and Faithfull Subject,

JONATHAN CARVER.

Storys Gate Coffee House Gt. George Street Westminster

November 4th, 1773.

Addressed To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty

Endorsed Petition of

Jonathan Carver to

The King.

Copied and compared by

Henry John Brown.

DOCUMENTARY

LETTERS OF S. H. TAYLOR
TO THE
WATERTOWN [WISCONSIN] CHRONICLE

[Editorial in *Watertown Chronicle*, March 16, 1853]

FOR OREGON.—S. H. Taylor, Esq., and family, of this city, and Amos Noble, of Emmet, will start this week for Oregon, by the overland route. They will be accompanied by two or three families from Illinois. Mr. T. has promised us a series of letters giving a description of the route, and such information of the country as may be of interest to the general reader. He will also become a regular correspondent of our paper after reaching Oregon. His well-known ability as a writer is a sufficient guarantee that these letters will be full of interest.

[*Watertown Chronicle*, April 13, 1854]

OREGON BOUND.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE WATERTOWN CHRONICLE.

Owen, Ill., April 4, 1853.

Friend Hadley—I write merely to gratify the kind interest

felt in our success, by cherished friends whose hearts we believe are following us here.

We left Watertown Wednesday morning, and my family reached here Sunday, and I on Monday—65 miles—after wading through 40 miles of mud almost to the wagon axle. At the Fort, the first night, one of my cows made her escape, and I did not overtake her until I had got back within $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Watertown. I then hurried on and overtook my family at night at Milton, in mizzling rain and sozzling mud. Although the cow had traveled 55 miles since 7 o'clock of the day before, and without rest and with little food, she was again missing in the morning. I found too that my coat while drying was burnt up, and making a rush for my hat, that too was gone—and with my blessings on the landlord, house, cow and mud, and things generally I put back on the road, missing, the cow at 5 miles, and again going within $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Watertown. Supposing her to have been stolen, as she in fact had been, I returned and found her after 45 miles more of literal wading in the mud.

The next day, Saturday, the last of the frost came out, and the roads were the next thing to utterly impassable. At Janesville I navigated 7 miles of road that was in neither wagoning nor boating condition. North of that place, over the low prairies, the surface is too even and the fences too continuous for either the water or traveler to escape. The fate of both is the same—to go right down through. At almost every step I sunk to my ankles, and was thankful for my flat feet that kept me from going down deeper—while my poor cow went down to her knees. And over that whole way, I met not a single man, woman or child, from whom to get even the cold comfort that it was 4 miles through. And I assure you it was far from comforting, when I had made that 4 miles to Janesville it was then 8 miles farther and worse!

At Milton, for the first time in Wisconsin, I heard the demoniac, hyena yell of the "train"—so fiercely significant that it neither stays nor turns save of its own will—bating of

course the necessities of grease spots and parabolic—though the latter, it seems, in this road, under Mr. Kilbourn's improvements in railroading, are substituted by *angles*. The cars came in there with a jolting, rattling sound as if running on pavement—and the first thought was that they were off the track running right along over the hubs on a straight cut to the next turn of the road. It was a mizzling, dense, palpable night, and as the cars crept slowly and noiselessly away to the west, it required no great stretch of the fancy to the thought that they were afraid to run in the dark. And if they were animate, it might well be so—for just west of Milton, a mile or so, the track takes a short turn around the point of a gravel ridge, where the first impression of safety is in being ready for a jump, or footing it over the point and taking the train as it comes along. The man whose name is associated with this road, will live in the memory of men, forever; at least he ought to.

I have been over northern Illinois and 150 miles, or so, into Indiana—over a region that I traveled 15 years ago. On every hill and valley and stream, the Anglo-Saxon has, in this little time, written his character in signs that a half century of barbarism could not efface. After leaving the lake region and going south into Indiana, although the setment [settlement] dates back far anterior to that of central Wisconsin, the improvement is much less marked. The southern Hoosier is seen in their roads and fields and buildings and towns, as readily as in the peculiar phrases and *wanging* tone of voice of the people. Where the country has been settled from the eastern and middle states, the progress has been truly wonderful. Where, 15 years ago, the traveler threaded his weary and solitary way over the plains and through the openings on Indian trails, finding the rude habitations of men scattered here and there far from each other, and now and then a mere saw mill frame, perhaps, erected, with the miller's cabin by it, the whole country, even the prairies, are covered all over with fields and dwellings, and each "water-power" is the

nucleus of a "town" now spreading itself over the hills, its streets walled in with massive structures of brick and stone, and presenting an appearance of life and power that might be expected after a half century's labor and growth. Where, a few years ago, men plodded on foot over vast and trackless wastes, seeking vainly for any conveyance, you are now in the tide of a thronging multitude, hurried away by the steam car on its iron track at a speed which the most closely scanned objects flit by you half unseen, and the still water in the pool by the way side, quivers as the ponderous train rolls over the trembling earth.

There is nowhere—at least where I have been—such progress as in Wisconsin. Her agricultural country is better and more universally improved, her towns are larger, better built and more active, there are more evidences of thrift and less of poverty, than anywhere where I have been. I have seen more frame barns on Wisconsin farms, in 30 miles, and there are more towns on the 50 miles intervening between Watertown and the state line, down Rock river, than on any 150 miles of the best part of Illinois or Indiana. I am satisfied that there is not in the northern part of these states, an inland town equal, in any respect to Janesville or Watertown. No man can open his eyes, and keep them open, during opportunities for observation, without being satisfied that Wisconsin is very far superior for all purposes of civilization, to the region lying south of it—and that it is destined to the support of a far more powerful community. Could the people of your state realize the position it now occupies, and that to which it is rapidly and certainly hastening, they would be prouder of their homes and labor with more of hope and zeal for the future.

Of Watertown itself—Janesville is the only larger town in this interior. Rockford is now entering into advantages by which it may beat Watertown—*perhaps*—but remember my prediction, that Watertown is bound to outstrip every place on this river except Rockford.

I have fooled away a good deal of time, and it is getting late, so I will just say what I intended to in the beginning. We are all either well or better, and in good spirits—intending, with some dozen other families, to leave to-morrow for Kanessville. In poddling through the mud after my cow, I saw a little of going to Oregon, and if there is any truth in the saying that a “bad beginning makes a good ending,” we have a good reason to hope for a successful ending.

I expect to write you from Kanessville,¹ which we do not intend to leave till about the 5th of May. Everywhere there are families and crowds of cattle Oregon bound.

I know not what to say to those who gave us such touching evidences of their regard. Please say to them as you meet them, that we find as yet, and I believe we shall find, the parting with our dear friends there, the most painful feature in the undertaking in which we have entered.

Yours, &c.,

S. H. TAYLOR.

[*Watertown Chronicle*, July 6, 1853]

Council Bluffs City, May 24, 1853.

Friend Hadley—Yesterday the 23d, after 47 days, mostly on one of the worst roads in the world, we arrived at this place, and with about 300 people and 1000 head of cattle, kept back and dammed up by floods and broken bridges, “sat down before the town.” The season has been wetter than any that has preceded it for many years, and all the late companies are from eight to fifteen days behind their time. The tide, however, has been up to its flow and swept on. Ten thousand strangers have been here in a month, and are gone again, and the town begins to be desolated and still. It is built of log cabins, one story high, on both sides of a street running about 60 rods down the bottom of a ravine, between high, dirty clay hills, where it can neither see nor be seen. There are perhaps a half dozen two story buildings in the place, all devoted to gaming, the only business that can afford to live in them.

¹ What is now a northern portion of Omaha was originally called Kanessville.

I know not whether there is a frame building in the city. Their stores and offices are all in little log buildings, that would be a disgrace to almost any Wisconsin farm, and would not be allowed to stand a week in any Wisconsin village. I have not seen a school house, nor a church, in the town, nor indeed have I in any other Mormon settlement. There is not in the city, a trace of taste, pride, enterprise or public spirit. Wherever the Mormons have established themselves in this country, you can see the clearest evidences that society is sinking rapidly downward.

The whole country from Lyons, on the Mississippi, to this city, is under the dominion of the Mormons and Hoosiers, and its condition is what would probably be expected by one acquainted with those settlers. You would hardly believe what I should tell you of it. A man accustomed to the state of things among the Yankees, would be unprepared to credit a true statement of the condition of things.

We have traveled 337 miles, across the state, through its capital and in its greatest thoroughfares, and we have not crossed a stream 60 feet wide or over, without paying toll; have not seen a stage coach nor any other public conveyance, nor a public house out of a village, nor indeed a village as large as Watertown. There is nothing, absolutely *nothing*, in the country, showing enterprise. Even at Iowa City, the capital, a village of 1200 inhabitants, where the Iowa is I should think not more than 15 rods wide at high water, they have a toll bridge and the people pay annually in toll one-fourth enough to build a fine bridge. A settlement of Yankees nine miles from the city, offered to give \$3,000 if the city would give \$1,500 to construct a free bridge, and it could not be raised. The city has nothing Yankee in its appearance—neither gardens, orchards, nor many of what you would call even second rate houses. The capitol is a building little superior to the Jefferson² jail, and the public grounds around it are a mere common for the herding of cows and the storage of lumber.

² Watertown, Wis., is located in Jefferson county.

Pella, a village of 400 Dutch and Yankees, is the only town on the road where we saw gardens, fruit and ornamental trees, walks, good buildings, and such other evidences of taste and enterprise as you see in Wisconsin towns.

Lyons has about 200, De Witt 200, Tipton 400, Iowa City 1200, Pella 400, Kaneshville 500 people—in all less than 3000—and there are not 400 more in all the many of what the Hoosiers call “right smart villages” on this road. Instead of taverns, they have here “wagon yards”—the sign of which is over the barnyard bars. The Hoosiers seldom go from home, and go in covered wagons, carrying their living with them, and merely wanting a place where they can cook and feed. Their wants are all supplied in the barnyard—and that is the extent of the *hotel*. They have no railroads, plankroads, turnpikes, not even bridges—and their public roads are laid generally where the land is poorest and most broken, and there only from two to three rods wide. The Hoosiers, many of them, understand that it will take the Yankees to make anything of the country, and freely expressed the hope that the railroads from Lyons and Savannah to the Bluffs will bring them in.

I believe there is more mail matter delivered in Jefferson county than at all the offices on the great road—and I question, indeed, whether there is not more delivered in Watertown alone. Having seen nothing that looked like U. S. mail, I asked a postmaster how they got their letters. He said a man brought them on a horse every week from the east through Iowa City. I asked if “in his breeches pocket.” He said, “he might.” And that is the eastern mail to Kaneshville—weekly—but, says the P. M. here, we have two a week from the south!

Until I reached here I have not seen a newspaper since we crossed the Mississippi; and you may be assured that those four *Chronicles* you sent me to this office were right gladly received. I read one and keep the others to read on “the plains.” Our people all seized upon them with the avidity of children. We have plenty of books, but we are all Yankees

and need the "news," and shall feel sensibly the want of your paper regularly on the road.

We intend tomorrow to enter upon the great waste wild that lies now west of us. I cannot tell you so that you can relish how we feel as we are about to go. Since we were here I have seen many go out, and I have seen no countenance free from evidences of strong emotion. Our departure is one of those hours occurring seldom in life, on which the past and the future press heavily. There are painful thoughts of those who are dear to us and with us; visions of sickness and pain that rivers of sympathy cannot relieve, and of death where death comes without any of the consolatory influences that Christianity and humanity can shed about the grave, and of the burial and desertion of precious remains on the desert, where the waves of empire will go over them as unheedingly as the sea goes over its dead; and there are earnest thoughts of friends who are behind and whose passionate love will go after us as vainly as the wind—and we know not how many, but there are many bitter repentings. Many regret that they are going—though few can be induced to say so much; and many more, I apprehend, are conscious that they have not acted wisely in entering upon the enterprise.

We go out in a company of about 20 effective men—three of them Methodist preachers—13 wagons and about 200 head of cattle. The determination is to observe the Sabbath strictly. We go well armed, but I believe generally trusting about as much in God as in our arms.

Horse trains went out on grain as early as April 18th, but companies with cattle did not go out trusting to grass until about ten days ago. It is considered barely safe now to go out with horses and depend on grass solely.

I have seen enough of "going to Oregon" to be enabled to give some advice to those who may hereafter go. We are now past a portion of the route that is acknowledged, in a wet season like the present, to try the ability of teams as fully as any part of it, and I have learned that the condition is more

important than the age of cattle. More cattle are supposed to have given out on the road in this state, than will, with the same usage, fail hereafter. Those that have failed are of all ages, but, in all cases, I presume, in poor condition. It is not well, however, to take heavy cattle. Those that are young and no more than ordinarily heavy built, travel easiest and longest. Men I have seen who have been through and are going again, generally have oxen from four to six years old, and loose cattle young, and none of them unusually heavy in the body. Cattle must be in good condition. Were I to prepare again for the expedition, I would grain up my oxen all winter, and have them fat when I started. And this is the opinion of all I have heard speak on the subject.

Stags do not make a good team unless they are quick. They are naturally too slow to travel with oxen, but if they are quick, their hardiness renders them far superior. We cannot rely much upon cows for draught. We make nothing of "breaking in" a cow—nor, in fact, anything else—but they are of little service. A young man, who feels himself rather smart, seizes a cow by the horn with one hand, and with the other on her neck to hold her, lets her *splurge* for a minute or two, when she finds she is fast, and allows herself to be quietly led into the yoke, and in an hour is drawing as if proud of her new mission. And so we do with anything we want in the team. I got a stag, five years old, quick and strong, that had never been in the yoke, and a bull of the same age, a large, powerful, self-reliant animal, that had never had a restraint upon him, and knew nothing of restraints till we put a log chain on his head, and we have them now both in the team, the best animals in it. Cows, however, are not heavy enough for service, and are not reliable in bad places. I have two cows in the yoke, working very well, but they are of near twice the usual size and weight—while they are the only ones in our company now in the team, though we started with a dozen or so.

Emigrants should be particularly careful to have their wagons *right*. They should be very light and easy running. The cover

should be low, and it is better to have it round at the top. The sloughs—"slews"—of this state are perfectly horrible. A man who has not been across it can form no conception of the evil. On any direct line from here to the Mississippi—397 miles by the road—there are doubtless 2000 miserable "slews." The only way possible to cross them is to have a wagon that will go over them on the turf. This a carriage with a heavy top cannot do. Nor can these "slews" be crossed with heavy loads. We found it necessary to reduce the weight on our wagons below 900 pounds. No wagon, in a wet season like this, can go over the sloughs with certainty with more than about 800 pounds. With such an amount it goes along over the turf, while with 1000 pounds perhaps it will invariably go down—and such a going down as you never saw! We have had ten good yoke of oxen on one wagon to get it out of a "slew," and that perhaps near ten times in one day. We have sometimes traveled for miles over high wet prairies where the wagon would constantly settle 3 to 6 inches into the ground.

I would advise any man intending to cross this state, to go down below Rock Island before crossing the Mississippi. The Indians had a trail striking from a point there, to the Bluffs, keeping a series of "divides" forming the water shed of the Missouri and Des Moines. The road from Dubuque by Cedar Rapids, that from Lyons by Iowa City, and all the others, strike right west or south west from the Mississippi into this ridge, and keep it. The Mormons, when they went to Salt Lake, took it on the Mississippi, and made the best road. now called "the Mormon Trail," that the ground will admit of. This is a good road. It is serpentine, but even, dry and hard. We came by Lyons and Iowa City, and have had about 140 miles of it, and we had rather our cattle would travel that 140 miles, than 50 of the road before we came to it. From Beloit, on the line of Wisconsin and Illinois, an ox team will go to Kanesville, at least in a wet season, in ten days less time by going down to the mouth of Rock river and taking this route, than by the straight roads.

Let no emigrant be fooled by the great efforts made at Iowa City and Cedar Rapids to induce him to purchase there his outfit of provisions. They can be obtained as cheap at Kanesville as at those places, and the extra carriage actually costs as much as they are worth. There are times when provisions are high here—as at this time and for three days now, flour is \$10 a barrel, bacon from \$10 to \$15 a hundred, &c.—but even at such prices, nothing is gained by buying at Iowa City or Cedar Rapids.

Every effort that can be is made every where in this route to palm off provisions and forage on the emigrant. He is constantly told that “ahead there is scarcity, corn and oats \$1, &c.” Such stories are all impositions. This is the farmers’ market, and every farmer’s interest is to raise such products as it requires. An abundance is produced for it on every road where emigrants go, except within perhaps one hundred miles of Kanesville, where very few people live, and the little that is raised is soon consumed.

We go out with teams in as good condition, perhaps, as any that have left this point. Some fast companies passed us on the road, but we have passed some of them again, and believe we shall pass the remainder. More anon.

Yours, &c., in haste,

S. H. TAYLOR.

[*Watertown Chronicle*, July 13, 1853]

Pawnee Country, June 4, 1853.

Friend Hadley—We are now 90 miles up the Platte on the Loup Fork, in company with about 250 wagons, blocked up here, near what was called a ferry before it was flooded, waiting for the water to subside. We are in the heart of the territory of the Pawnees, the most skilful thieves that can be; and some are paying dearly for their misfortune. In this neighborhood they have stolen about 50 head of oxen, and every morning we hear of from two to six oxen being run off. About 200 Pawnees came here three days ago and are lying

here with us, but with what intention we know not. We are not afraid of our lives—but we find them very annoying. During the day we keep our cattle constantly in view, and at night chain them up and keep up a double guard. All do the same—but it is impossible to keep their hands off property when they attempt to get it. They will almost steal a horse from under his rider.

We move very slowly, but are gaining upon those ahead of us. It is the wettest season “known to the earliest settlers,” and those who have been through in dry seasons can form no conceptions of the difficulties we have had to encounter. Even the road along the Platte, except a few miles along the base of the highlands, is horrible. Last Wednesday we saw many wagons set on the Platte bottoms, and I am sorry to say mine was one of them. We saw a little of the best of the road just before a rain and when it was very dry, and it was the best I ever saw—in some respects equal and in others superior to a plank road. There are places where 30,000 loaded wagons have, within five years, passed along a track of not over seven feet in breadth, and there is no rut—no depression of one inch below its original level.

The description of this country is generally embodied in the pithy expression that “it can never be settled.” The plain truth is, it is the most splendid country in the world, but without timber. From 15 miles this side of the Missouri, to this point, except the river flats, the surface is in fine easy slopes, or levels, and the soil cannot be excelled. From here back to Elkhorn, 60 miles, there is no timber but the cottonwood groves of the Platte, and that away in the midst of a wet valley from 8 to 15 miles wide. We traversed the banks of the Elkhorn 10 miles, and saw its valley 20 miles more, and it is to that extent skirted with noble cottonwoods, and its hillsides on the east are covered with grand old burr oaks. East of that stream, as we rise to its highlands, the country lies, how far back we know not, in the finest slopes and valleys. No man ever saw a more beautiful region, or one better adapted to

agriculture, than that lying along the Elkhorn. It cannot be long before the great depot of supplies will be transferred from the Missouri to this stream. The best opportunity I have seen for emigrants, is for 15 or 20 families to locate on that stream, establish a ferry, raise provisions and build up a town.—Where we crossed they have ferried about 6000 wagons this season at \$2.50 to \$3—and that with one old scow and, perhaps, five men. A few Yankees settling at that point would draw all Kanesville there in two years, and make twenty fortunes for those who adventured.

How far the absence of timber will prevent or impede the settlement of this grand country, is, of course, mere conjecture—but it seems impossible that with all its other advantages, it should be allowed to remain long, as it is, a desolation. The construction of the Pacific railroad, by which the Platte country will be admitted to Oregon, and the opening of the great coal bed that is supposed to extend from the Iowa river to the Rocky Mountains, will have much to do with the solution of the question what is to become of this great region.

Since crossing the Nishnabotony, 25 miles beyond Kanesville, we have not seen more than a rock in a place—nor indeed do I know that we have seen one at all. The soil everywhere lies on a formation of clay and fine sand, such as fills the waters of the Missouri. The bluffs and hills about that stream, are mere prominences left by the powerful denuding forces to which the country has been exposed. I was told that there was coal on the west side of the stream below Kanesville—but I should not expect it there, and think it doubtful. Coal, in the Missouri country, is probably very deep—having at least the sand-stone in place, and this great bed of clay, the depth of which no one knows, above it. 170 miles east of Kanesville, near Pleasantville, and 240 miles near Montezuma, the coal appears in all the ravines, and the indications are that the supply is inexhaustible. With the opening of the railroad to the Mississippi, it must become an important source of revenue to the country.

June 7.—We have a prospect of crossing the Loup today. There are about 100 wagons here now—but few coming in. We see many cattle trains of from 100 to 500 head—probably about 1500 head now here. Many wagons have gone up to the fords, one of which is 35 and the other 70 miles above.—Fords on this stream are essentially dangerous. Its waters are a mere mass of quicksand, rushing along with the velocity of a mountain stream. In fording our cattle they sink right down into the sand, and the farther they sink the faster they sink, while the current is so swift that even ferriage is attended with some hazard.

I had intended to write more freely, but we just learn that we can cross the river *instantly*, and so I close for the present.

Yours, &c.,

S. H. TAYLOR.

[*Watertown Chronicle*, September 14, 1853]

Wood Creek, June 12, '53.

Friend Hadley—I wrote you last Tuesday from the crossing of the Loup Fork—but the men keeping a whisky supply at this point are gone and we shall probably see no one again going east until we reach Fort Laramie. We are now spending the Sabbath on Wood Creek, 170 and odd miles from Kanerville, and on what may well be called “the plains.” We are on a flat, safely above the streams, of almost perfectly even surface and to appearance boundless in extent. It is the “Platte bottoms.” On the north, directly abreast, is to be seen, in a good atmosphere, a dim trace of highlands, fading away immediately at the right and left, so far away is it—and at the south, three miles off, is the Platte, indicated by its dark cottonwood groves, and between them you look on in that direction, and there, as forward and back of us, the vast plain stretches away, we know not how far, for it is beyond the reach of our vision. Yesterday, at one time, our road was supposed to be 12 miles from the Platte, and yet, landward, the level flat extended probably 12 miles farther.

These flats are the great range on which the buffalo have

herded for centuries. Their bleached bones are everywhere—but it is evident that they are slowly retreating before the whites. All the way to the Loupe, the remains were merely the most durable portions of the skeleton; this side of that stream we have seen many of those that perished last year. That stream, however, has been a great barrier to their passage eastward from their great crossings on the Platte, above here, and they have never been so abundant there. They are now seldom seen that side of the Loupe.

From the Loupe ferry, we kept the valley of that stream about 45 miles—some of the way, for surface, soil, timber and water, as fine a country as is in the world. The flats are in places five miles wide. At 22 miles, where the bluffs approach the river, we go about 3 miles through them, and emerge suddenly upon a great flat extending from the Loupe over to the Platte, 20 miles or over, and 10 miles or more in its other width, on which might be surveyed a square of more than 125,000 acres with hardly a depression or elevation sufficient to conceal a horse.—The flats of the Loupe are fine for farming, and the stream is all the way where we saw it covered by cottonwood groves. Just before leaving the Loupe valley, we saw the first “alkali”—though by testing it we concluded it to be the pure *salt*. At 45 miles we struck off south and south-west, thro’ steep, barren, naked bluffs of clay and sand; a day’s drive, to the Platte bottoms, and another day brought us here. The crossing of the stream is bad, and there is all day a perfect jam and rush of people, teams and wagons; but a sermon from one of our folks holds a part of them for an hour, and on they go again.

June 23.—We have traveled less than 5½ days this week and made 119 miles, by our guide. We are where the cattle are seized by the infection of westward fever, and without urging go 20 to 26 miles a day. We are encamped near the Platte forks, by some famous springs, which, in this interminable region of “Platte water” and “slou’ water,” are really gloriously refreshing. There is no point from the Missouri to Fort

Laramie, to which the emigrant looks with more earnest desire, nor, where he finds such a real heart-satisfying pleasure. By this time men's natural wants have become strong, and whatever their habit may have been, the appetite for strong drink is overwhelmed by the desire for "good cold water." As the clear liquor comes up silvery and sparkling, rolling up the white, beautiful sand, and flowing off, to revive and refresh all the thousands that come, even the drinker forgets his whisky, and pays some passionate tribute to the "blessed good water." I sat down and sipped the water on the low bank, where Waldron and Stimpson sat and sipped it four years ago, and I presume thought about what they thought about. There are three graves here, and the inscriptions say the dead of them died in consequence of immoderate drinking of the water. When we reached the springs the mercury was at 112 in the shade, and the warning may have saved some of us.

The weather has been cool and comfortable until yesterday, and then it was about as hot as "the nature of things would admit of."

Since leaving Wood creek, we have passed over a great deal of alkaline land. The earth is wet and miry where the alkali is found in the water, and where the surface has been dried there is an incrustation of what appears to be *saleratus*. It is everywhere found in connection with salt.

We have passed over much beautiful bottom land during the week—especially that lying along Wood, Buffalo and Elm creeks—little streams that have almost their whole course in the flats. The timber of the Platte is now fast diminishing, and we traveled by the stream on Friday all day where it was almost naked of wood. It was only now and then that a tree or bush could be seen, indicating the course of the river. There is more just here, but it is all on the south side, and we cannot reach it. Buffalo chips are abundant, and for fuel we find them quite a passable substitute for wood. The timber that is here and for 40 miles back, is not worth counting in connection with the settlement of the country. Below that the

groves are heavy and apparently fine. The Loupe also is well timbered along its immediate margin. They will both be settled 100 miles above their confluence, and a great community will grow up there. Unless the Pacific railroad, or some other collateral influences interfere, there will be, in "our day," a city of 10,000 people at the mouth of the Loupe. In spite of that or anything else, a city will be there, and soon. Let the Indian title be extinguished and the Yankees get hold of the Platte, Elkhorn and Loupe Valleys, and there will be from the Missouri up, a mighty state, second in moral power to but one in the north-west—your own.

The alkali has an effect to injure the hoofs of our cattle to such an extent that they wear tender, and crack badly in the heel, and we have much trouble in consequence. Tell your readers who may hereafter come over these plains, to be prepared with little thin plates of iron for ox shoes, and flat headed nails to secure them—*without fail*.

July 3—We had hoped to be at Ft. Laramie that we might pass the 4th there to-morrow—but the lameness of our cattle delayed us and we are fifteen miles short. I trust that to-morrow about when your folks are sitting down to their independence dinner, we shall be driving up to Ft. Laramie.

We have been troubled much by the lameness of our cattle. While the wet season has given us abundant forage, it has aggravated this serious evil. The wetness of the alkaline surface renders the principle more active and fatal, and the feet of our cattle have been subject to its influence until the hoof fails to answer the purpose of a hoof.—In spite of close and constant care, one in seven of all our cattle has a hoof worn through, or a heel cracked deeply and badly. This is a great evil on the north side of the Platte. Oiling the hoof once or twice a week has been in ordinary seasons a very good preventive, and it would be well for emigrants to be supplied with it for the purpose—though this season it has failed of the end. We have used alcohol with a better result.—Its effect is to harden the hoof and fortify it against wearing, every emigrant

should be supplied with it. Few men are supplied with the means of using such remedies, and are obliged to resort to shoeing with leather, fastening with eight-ounce tacks—a poor expedient but much better than nothing. It is remarkable that, to within about seventy-five miles of Ft. Laramie, the evil increased, and then the feet of the cattle begin to harden, and some are fitted to all the conditions of the road—that is, supposing due diligence to be used in avoiding alkaline grounds. The Platte, through almost its entire course below here, at least, flows along the southern wall of its valley, and on that side there is no flat and of course no alkali. On this, the north side, the extent of surface occupied by it, is diminished by the increase of alluvial and detrital deposits.—Two hundred miles below here, almost the entire surface is impregnated with alkali, while here perhaps two-thirds of it is covered by alluvion carried on by the stream, and by sand and clay washed down from the hills. The alkali is thus concealed—otherwise it would render this route entirely impassable and uninhabitable, high up the stream, for even here, where it is found, the water is so strong as to be fatal and the earth covered with a crust of alkaline salts, resembling the purest saleratus.

I wish to give your readers the best general idea I can of this valley and its peculiarities, but I will wait for a better opportunity than I shall have on the road. When we get through, if in God's providence that event occurs, I shall try to give you a view of this country and of all through which we may pass. It is enough that the last 200 miles of our course has been, so far as wood is concerned, over a total, utter desolation. On this side the river, there is not a thing growing as high as a man's knees. Even this great stream sweeps along without a shadow cast upon its waters—without a tree or bush to indicate its course. Even the "LINE TREE" has been cut down and burned. When we stood by its stump, on ground on which so many thousands have enjoyed its shade, we felt that the man who could destroy it was fit only for murder and

arson. But the noble tree is gone, and there is now 200 miles without a shade.

From the Platte forks up to this point, the valley is narrow, from 2 to 6 miles wide, and more uneven, and deeper cut in the surface formation, the high lands being in some cases perhaps over 200 feet high. These are a mixture of clay and sand, and it is curious and interesting to see what freaks the water played here during the glacial period. The bluffs form the most striking feature in the country. They are the broken hills lying along the margin of the valley, more or less detached from the great mass of clay and sand that forms the upper and highest surface.

There are some grand bluffs just below here, on the south side of the river. About 60 miles below is the first deemed worthy of note on our guides—court house bluff. At a distance of 15 miles it presents a very fine appearance—seeming like a great regular structure of brick with a low dome, but too massive and heavy in its form to be pleasing. At a view of 6 miles, our nearest point, it is unshapely and with a little feeling of disappointment you turn to those that stand out in finer proportions, farther up the stream. Chimney bluff, 10 miles ahead, is a tunnel shaped mass of clay, perhaps 170 feet high, of really fine shape, and its center being a shaft probably 60 feet high and seemingly not more than four feet in diameter. They are both entirely naked of vegetation and the rains are slowly washing them down. The gutters in the surface of the court house bluff, give to its walls, at a distance, the appearance of a great columnnade, and the effect is so great that you almost look for human forms about it and among its columns. 20 miles still farther up is a bluff—Scotts bluff—the grandest object of the kind I ever saw. It is nearly divided but encloses a fine green area like a court, around which, except on the east, rises what seems like an imposing pile of regal buildings in the style of the earlier days of monarchy. It appears as if two immense structures had been raised in the infancy of architecture, and additions had been made showing

the progress of the science and the advance of each age. It has no spires—the shafts rising from its wings being like chimnies—but one part is surmounted with a noble dome, and the other has what is more like a great castle rising above the whole mass. The wings are naked, like bare brick walls, but between them the sides seem a little sloping and are grassy, with the summits covered with scattering dwarf cedars, that, at the distance of our trail, look like men, and really appear like guardsmen looking at us as we pass. East and near it is a beautiful tower, apparently as perfect in its form as the hand of man could make it.—It rises about 70 feet with a wall leaning slightly in the center, and then goes up at least 60 feet perpendicularly. In the center, and covering about half its summit, rises a noble perfect dome. In the court there is another like this. They are about 160 feet high and 60 feet broad at the base. The main bluff is from 200 to 250 feet high. Court house bluff is probably about the same—though some have made it as high as 400, and a book we have here calls it 800. These are mistakes. They are high enough, however, to be worth going far to see, and we have regretted very much that the river cuts off from us the privilege of visiting them.

Yours, &c.,

S. H. TAYLOR.

[*Watertown Chronicle*, August 10, 1853]

Fort Laramie, July 6, 1853.

Dear Mrs. Hadley—Feeling that some of our friends in W. would like to hear from me, I improve a leisure moment in writing you.

You will recollect that we left home with a very sick babe. She began to mend from the first day of starting, and continued to do until she, “with the rest of us,” is now in the enjoyment of good health. We have had a fine traveling season, although some mud to wade through; and although there is a great deal of sameness in the face of the country we have traversed, yet I find it very interesting, and am not yet willing

to return. I wish I could paint for you a picture that would not fade of the river, the bluffs, the flats and (by far the best part) the flowers—the most beautiful and splendid, the grandest specimens of the floral kingdom.—The cactus grows here in the greatest luxuriance, and many varieties. I wish I could send you a root of the pineapple cactus. I would attempt sending more of the dried flowers, but fear they will break to pieces so you cannot distinguish them. The graves of departed travelers are another interesting feature in this country. We have seen but four of “53”—three of their tenants were killed by lightning; another was a babe of fifteen days.

We had a very narrow escape from lightning a few days since, as our wagon was leaving camp some distance ahead of the train. The shock from the flash was so great as to almost prostrate our whole team of five yoke, causing every face to blanch and every heart to quake; but the danger was safely passed through, while a smaller object a few rods in our wake was shivered. The rain storms here are tremendous, and you may judge that our cloth house is poor protection.

The fort does not answer my expectations at all. From the distance at which I view it (two miles) it seems nothing more than a few log houses inclosed by a wooden picket fence. I cannot see the men at all. The buildings are on the flats, which gives them a mean appearance after viewing the grandest specimens of bluffs.

In the course of an hour we shall continue our route, soon to cross the Black Hills, which are seen in the distance. Yesterday we met a return train of Californians, by whom Mr. T. sent letters, which may reach you before this. They say that we have passed the worst part of our route, and we hope to find it so. We have had no sickness in our train as yet.

I can give you no idea of the number now *en route* for California and Oregon, but we have plenty of neighbors. Indians are very scarce, judging from our experience.

Saturday after we had encamped, more than forty wagons passed on our road and a goodly number was at the same time

in sight on the opposite side of the river. A great many cattle and sheep are crossing the plains this season. Our company have lost one horse by accident, and one wagon—sold two head of cattle on account of lameness; the rest are in pretty good heart to continue our journey.

Hellen has dried a great many flowers, expecting to send them to her mates in W. and is very much disappointed that a letter will not hold them. I have scribbled thus far seated on the ground in my tent with a rather troublesome babe hanging to my lap—Please excuse, and remember me to all inquirers.

Yours very sincerely,

CLARISSA E. TAYLOR.

[*Watertown Chronicle*, November 2, 1853]

July 17, 1853.

Friend Hadley—We are now 150 miles, only, above Ff. Laramie, after about two weeks of hobbling along with lame cattle and rickety wagons. We all wonder very much that our friends who have been through, have not warned us of these two difficulties—especially of the first. For near four week we have been compelled to make short drives of five to fifteen miles a day—sometimes stopping entirely. We might have saved much had we known in the beginning what we know now—though we have brought all our cattle through to this point, except two we sold to the traders. Some have lost much more than we have. Within 20 miles of Laramie are probably 25 establishments for trade with emigrants, and their principal traffic is in lame cattle. These traders have now probably in their hands over 1000 head, besides many that have recovered and been sold back to emigrants at from three to five hundred per cent. profit. The evil begins to show itself about 300 miles below Ft. Laramie; at that point it is at the worst, and above there it stops entirely. From there up, our trouble is entirely with old cases.

Large chested cattle, treading heavily on their fore feet—those having soft hoofs—those that haul or crowd in team, and those that in the yoke hurry or fret themselves—are almost sure to become lame. Whatever may be effected by treatment, much more may be by the selection of proper cattle.—No yoke of oxen, however valuable, should be brought on the route, unless they are true in the draught, and satisfied to do their part in the yoke—and though I have succeeded perfectly with two the heaviest oxen in the train, and one of them a bull, and they working on the tongue, the worst place in the team, yet, knowing what I do, I would not trust such again for the worth of them.

In a previous letter I advised emigrants to prepare themselves with iron shoes. We are not now so much in favor of them. We have found that above Laramie the hoof has hardened so that quite commonly it is out of the question to nail on a shoe. The friends of shoeing are now more in favor of having their oxen shod a hundred miles or so east of Kanessville, and depending upon other means to protect their cows. It may be the safest course, though it is generally thought that the foot would thus be unfitted for service after the shoe comes off. I believe, and I think our people are all satisfied from our experience, that a safe and perhaps perfectly sure remedy may be used. Several of our working oxen that became tender in the feet, we saved by wetting the bottom of the hoof with alcohol, or alcohol and camphor. With the free use of it, twice a day, oxen went through the Black Hills with feet that were tender and threatened to fail when they went in them. Every one treated with it, has recovered without becoming actually foot sore—and some of them, too, even when kept constantly in the draught. I have such confidence in it that with two quarts for five or six yoke of oxen and a dozen loose cattle, I would depend entirely upon it. A mocassin of leather, rawhide is best, is much used, and if adopted when the foot is first tender, will generally save it, but it is quite a trouble and only defends the hoof while it is hardening,

while the alcohol hardens it. It is of great use, in connection with spirits turpentine, or tar well heat in, to cure the heel crack.

An important thing in saving oxen, is to have *light wagons, light loads and plenty of teams*. Let the emigrant always bear this in mind. But a wagon should be good, of course—the best. In passing through a dry region like this, every seam in woodwork opens. Few wagons go through here without becoming loose in the fellys and hubs, and producing much trouble. The timber should be of the best kind and perfectly seasoned, and put together by good workmen—otherwise the wagon will fail, or cost more than it's worth to take it through.

July 24—We are now in the mountains—about four days from the South Pass—in the midst of poor feed, but enjoying a little more rain than for a month past.

We have heard nothing of symptoms of scurvy, fever or cholera, though a day back of us there was a death by mountain fever on the 4th of July. I have never known, anywhere, a time of such universal good health, as has prevailed this season from the Missouri to this point, on both sides of the Platte. The distance is 740 miles, the time eight weeks, and there has not been 30 deaths among 30,000 emigrants. We have heard of but about three cases of sickness, and have known of no deaths except as we have seen by the way perhaps six or eight graves of this year. A healthy season has had much to do with this state of things, but to a better habit of living is it to be attributed to a great extent. We see no such thing as living constantly on salt food, nor of exposure to conditions to which the system is unfitted. Everybody has milk, and most everybody has an abundance. One-fourth of the draught on the road is done by cows giving milk, a large share of the loose stock is the same—and you would be surprised to see the extent to which milk enters into the living of emigrants. The impression that evening drawn milk of cows traveling in or out of the team is heated and unhealthy, is a mistake. Our cows are warm, of course, when they stop at

night—rather, they are so in our warmest weather—but in a few minutes they become cool, and there is nothing in the appearance or taste of the milk showing a disturbance of its natural condition. We all use it freely, and I believe perfectly safely. Everybody has fruit, too, and I believe that has much to do with their immunity from disease. No emigrant should come on this road without plenty of dried sour apples and cows giving milk.—Their value is incalculable. It is remarkable that all are excessively fond of corn meal in every form in which it is cooked. Every one expresses satisfaction or regret as they happen to have it or not. The “corn starch” substitute is a failure, because it requires eggs to make it good. We think the milk, fruit and meal save us from the diseased anxiety for potatoes and vinegar, as it does from the necessity of using too much salt meat. We have also fresh meat now and then, which helps along our living very much. The swine has no representative on these plains—so we get no new pork—but the antelope and buffalo furnish us an excellent article of fresh beef. From a young buffalo killed by some neighbors the other day, we had steak we called fully equal to any we ever had in Watertown, though Watertown, in that respect, be not a whit behind the very chiefest of cities.

The hard bread manufactured at St. Louis or Kanessville, and obtained at the latter place by emigrants, is bad—always very bad. I believe nobody eats it except when unavoidable. We find we need but very little of such food, and it is about as well to go without as to use that. It is sometimes, though very seldom, needed, and I would advise emigrants to take very little of it.—Flour is the staple; it is always the most convenient and the best form of material for bread, except, perhaps, one day in fifteen, when hard bread is needed. Rice seems to be less relished on the road than at home—I presume because we have not eggs to cook with it. The emigrant will find that anything usually cooked with eggs, is of little use on the road.

If a man will bring with him proper fishing tackle, he can get good catfish from the Missouri, Elkhorn, and Loupe, and the Platte as far up as fifty miles below Ft. Laramie.—In the Missouri they catch multitudes going up from 50 to 90 lbs. each. Though poorly supplied with tackle we caught a few fine catfish in the Loupe and Platte, and some dace in the small streams.

The patent wagon lock is thrown away by everybody who has it, and the simple chain substituted. A lock is indispensable, and the common chain is, I believe, universally preferred.

That which I believe is pronounced the best form of stove, is that of the common plate stove, but level at top and bottom, with two holes over the furnace, draught under and over the oven, and flue in the end. 3 or 4 feet perpendicular draught is necessary. We see none such among the hundreds that are thrown away. A stove should be double where most exposed to heat—say half the front end and bottom. At least one camp kettle should be taken besides a dripping pan, coffee kettle, two tin kettles, and frying pan.

The best form of tent is just that of the common house roof—not more than 6 to 6½ feet high, and 10 feet wide, well secured with pins at the edges. With such a form we have found brace ropes and all such securities useless—or nearly so. The three poles used with such a tent, may be made very light, and the whole be lighter, more convenient, and safer and better than any other form.

Great care should be used to have ox yokes and bows right—*every way right*—chains light but good, of right length, with good hooks, and a half dozen or so of good heavy false links will be found worth their weight in silver.

Wagon tire should be so bolted to the felly that it may be readily taken off. This is very important. When our tire becomes loose, we take it off, find an old stove by the way and cut it into strips, and put them on the rim of the wheel and set the tire over them. All the irons should be in the

common form, because then if one breaks it is easy finding another with which to replace it.

Dry Sandy Creek, July 31.

We are 16 miles by the summit of the South Pass, actually descending towards the level of the common earth—though descending very slowly indeed, and through a region of little feed and less water. We are 7640 feet above the level of the sea, our guide books say, and almost to the line of perpetual snow. The Wind River range of mountains, abutting on our right, loom out almost over our trail with their sides white with snow down almost to our level. The wind comes cold from them, and the moment the sun's heat is obstructed, the air feels like that of a winter day. We have passed over, perhaps, the highest point of unbroken surface on the continent—yet we should hardly be conscious of being in a high altitude, so gradual has been our ascent. But the remains of the last winter's now, here and there lingering on the northern hillsides and the abundance of mosses on their summits, the cold chilling air, and the difficulty of weak lungs to breathe when a little wearied, indicate our situation.

I have a word to say here in regard to traveling on the Sabbath—the almost universal habit of this road. When we left home, we commenced the experiment of observing that day with accustomed strictness, and to this time have observed it against the practice of every train and the opinion of almost every man we have met. Our experience, though it be that of but a single train, has so convinced our company of the economy and expediency of resting on Sunday, that I think our irreligious men, if traveling by themselves, would from policy, do as we have done. We have been on the road six days less than four months—a time sufficient to test whether our teams need such a rest, and whether the rest is given them at the expense of time. We supposed we should fall behind a little, and that we should have only a good conscience—though that be enough certainly—to console us as other trains left us—but now, after 16 weeks of draught, and four weeks

of it on the barren sage plains, our cattle are almost every one in good flesh and some of them *good beef*. I say only what all admit, that our teams are in better condition than those of any other train we can hear of on the road. For four weeks our oxen have been remarked by those who have seen them, for their good condition, while in every train near us, there are some failing from leanness, and quite a large share of them are so thin that we would not put them in our yokes. We are quite surprised at this difference—especially that it should be so great. To-day a company that was to reach the summit of the Pass a fortnight ahead of us, is encamped here, satisfied to stop with us over Sunday. A heavy drover, now going through the third time, is satisfied on the point and now lies by with us. A train composed of very prudent men, acquaintances of some of us, left Illinois one day ahead, traveling Sundays. The character of the men was a guaranty of the best management of their team, and it was predicted that they would go through in ten to twenty days less time than we.—At the Missouri they were a week ahead, having gained six days. Fifty miles above Laramie we found a note from them, and they were *two* days only in advance. Another train starting and traveling under similar circumstances, has had to stop to recruit, and is now behind us. We have probably lost a far less per centage of cattle than any other company going over the road.

These are not the only good results of lying by on Sunday—nor are they the most important. Our people have an opportunity that otherwise they cannot possibly enjoy, for those attentions to personal cleanliness, necessary to a healthy condition of body—and for the relaxation and rest required as much by their moral and physical constitutions.—While traveling we are necessarily constantly exposed to the vexing, harassing influences, incident to the road, and which has done much to deprave and dehumanize those who have gone over it. We need relief from these causes. The patience cannot bear a constant, perpetual abrasion. Even with the healing influ-

ences of religion upon us, we feel it. We feel that the mind cannot bear chafing all the time. And Monday morning we feel as we used to, refreshed for another week of toil on the road—another week of the journey of life—another week of the labor of self control, and of effort to make the most of the enjoyment of the social and domestic relations. I wish all who are to go over this road, might hear and believe what I say—that it is no more strange that those who travel Sundays and thus neglect their moral necessities, should be prepared to abandon their sick and tumble their dead into holes in the ground, than that they should become indifferent to the necessities of their beasts and strew the trail with the carcasses of over-driven and over-beaten cattle.

One great cause of loss on this road, is, feeding on alkaline lands. Cattle should, *in no case*, be halted where there are alkaline salts on the surface. This is the great curse of the upper Platte, the Sweetwater, and all streams flowing through the great waste from the Summit west to the base of the Bear mountains. The low grounds are every where more or less covered with saleratus, and thousands feed and herd their cattle in it for three to four weeks of time. They have the alkaline principle constantly in their grass, and to some extent in their drink, and even the dust they inhale is impregnated with it. The system resists the poison more effectually than we ought to expect, for comparatively a small per centage die. Where 200,000 cattle have passed this season, there are, for 400 miles, from one to four carcasses to the mile—and probably one-half of this 200,000 are fed on the lime grounds and furnish nine-tenths of the dead. Grass can be every where found on the high land. It is in spots—dry but nutritious—thin and scanty but very hearty. Our oxen labor on a morning's feeding of it, all day as well as on the low ground grass till 2 o'clock. We esteem it the best grass by great odds. It is not so convenient, and so 100,000 cattle, this year, are grazed on alkaline feed to be killed or injured for months to come. Crossing the plains again, I would not feed on the low

grounds, after leaving Wood creek, 170 miles from Kanessville, unless when I found it utterly unavoidable.

Aug. 7—We are at the eastern base of the Bear mountains—still in the region of sand, clay, gravel, drought and barrenness. The west pass of the Oregon route, we found saved by a cut-off. The 46 miles without water, from the Big Sandy to the Green river, in the common route, the Sublett cut-off, is avoided by going down the former to where it is but 18 miles across. The “dry stretch” of 26 miles, from the Platte to a tributary of the Sweetwater, is also by going up the Platte, to about 13 miles. Our company is about determined to go to Rogue river valley to settle. We shall probably take the Brophy cut-off from the great Columbia river trail—turning to the left at the great level of Bear river and going well to the head of the Humboldt, then down that stream to within 80 miles of its sink, and from there over the northern terminus of the Sierra Nevadas, at this kind [line?] a mere range of hills to Rogue river. We thus take a direct road, without mountain passes with abundance of feed, and no “horrors” but two “dry stretches” 25 miles each, and a horrible tribe of Indians in the Humboldt.

Speaking of Indians—to this point the Pawnees are the only tribe to be feared, and they only for their proficiency in theft. The emigrant cannot too closely watch and guard his stock till he leaves the Loupe fork. The only safe course, so far, is to have every animal secured nights with a chain and lock, with a man by him with a revolver, and never allow him to go from the hand of the guard during the day. Beyond this there is no risk. From the Loupe there is no danger of the kind. The Sioux, Ottoes, Tapoos and Crows, are nobler Indians than you have ever seen; and hating the Pawnees implacably. Among all these tribes it is deemed a merit to kill a Pawnee in any place or in any way. They prosecute against them a war of extermination. They are above thefts. I was with them four days in the Black Hills, separated from the train, in search of an ox stolen by a white man, and I found

them ever ready to give me the best place in the lodge, with the best buffalo robe and best buffalo meat. I would trust them to any extent. I have not heard of an animal ever having been stolen by an Indian between the Loupe fork and Bear river mountains, nor do I believe such a thing ever occurred. About the Bear river region were the diggers—miserable robbers—but now, with another tribe, by the agency of the small pox, they are nearly annihilated. They were a powerful band a year ago, but are now a disunited and wandering handful, hardly recognized as a tribe, and nearly harmless even as thieves.

As additional advice to those who intend going over this road, they should make their calculations to live as nearly as possible as they do at home. The last place to get good whip-stocks is on the west side of the Des Moines. There are some, but not the best, on the east side of the Missouri, going up from Kaneshville to the upper ferry. Opposite and about 60 rods above the present eastern landing of that ferry, on the west side of the Missouri, is a good place, and the best place to get good hickory for spare ox-bows—three or four of which ought to be taken with every team. A man wants about three dozen common screws; 2 papers 8 oz. and 10 oz. tacks; 2 lbs. shingle and 2 lbs. 6d nails; a saw, hammer, good axe, spade, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ and inch augers with one handle, wrench, screw driver and two good pocket knives—one being to lose on the way. So far, a gun is of little use except to fire off, clean out and load up again every three or four days. A family should be supplied with such medicines as they know how to use, especially for such diseases as proceed from a neglected and dirty condition of the skin and overcharging of the bowels with Platte water sand, and colds taken by swimming the Platte for cattle and fuel; and the best of remedies for murrain, alkali, overflowing of the galls, hobnail and other ails of cattle and horses. There is an abundance of a purer and honester article of saleratus in this country than can be got at factories, and a man may get more or less as he pleases at Kaneshville. Salt for

cattle is unnecessary after striking the Platte—from that point, for some reason, they will not eat it. There are about ten ferries on the road—the aggregate cost on each wagon is about \$25 to \$30—by all but two of which—the Mississippi and Missouri—we swam our cattle without difficulty. The loss of cattle on the road is just according to the care they have. The loss of sheep, some 15,000 to 20,000 of which are on the way, I am informed by the most judicious drivers to be not much less than 20 per cent., or one-fifth. If any one wishes to take hens, they can manage a half dozen or so with little trouble. There are some in our company, and they ride well, being let out at evening, and have laid nearly all the way. There is no trouble in taking a dog, unless a bad traveler, by seeing to it that he has water supplied to him on the “dry stretches.” It is not well to take cows that will “come in” on the road; I have seen many such, and many young calves traveling, but there are great objections, to wit: Good butter cannot be made on the road, and such as we have is little cared for. A *can* holding 6 to 20 qts., keeps our sour milk and cream, and makes our butter by the motion of our wagon. Everything should be carried in tin cans and bags. Pickles, and, I presume, pork, can be kept in cans while air tight.—The flesh of poultry, “cooked down,” is found an excellent article of food. The *dried eggs* were a failure with us. Tin ware should be substituted for earthen, and sheet for cast iron. Russia is the only sheet iron, that, in a stove, will last through. An excellent substitute for a stove when no baking is to be done, is a sheet of iron like a stove top, to be put over a fire hole in the ground, a common means of cooking, and one which the traveler soon learns to make and use. It is just as good as a stove for every purpose but baking. Every one needs flannel under clothing here. In regard to supplies of clothing for the future, every one is convinced that anything not needed for the road, costs a great deal more than it comes to. Take nothing for use after getting through—excepting money, of course, tho’ I can assure you, you will have much less of that than you

expected, when you get there. No water should be used for drinking or cooking, nor allowed to cattle, unless in a running stream or containing insects; otherwise it is probably alkaline. Every one ought to have too much sense to use water from the stinking holes dug by some foolish persons in the margins of "slews" and alkaline marshes. No poison water is found east of here, that I am aware of, except as the alkaline is called poison. We have seen one alkaline spring, on the upper Platte, but the alkali is too apparent to the taste to be dangerous. To this point it is safe to use all running water, or that which contains the young of mosquitoes and frogs. The guide books are full and reliable in their information on this subject. A man wants a guide, *of course*, and the latest to be got. The "Mormon Guide" is the best as far as it goes. This, as everything the emigrant wants, is to be got at Kanesville.

I shall probably have no more opportunities to forward letters until I reach Rock City,³ two months hence at least; and I may not have one to send this—though I hope for it, for we expect to be, until we leave the Humboldt, on a trail taken by some of the return travel from California and southern Oregon. If I have time, I will fill up.—There are many things I wish to write, but must defer till I get through. I expect, if I live, to hail from *Rock City*, Oregon.

Yours, &c.,

S. H. TAYLOR.

[*Watertown Chronicle*, March 29, 1854]

Jacksonville, Oregon, Dec. 17, '53

Mr. Editor—We arrived here in the Rogue River Valley Oct. 26th, just five, instead of four months out from Kanesville, in company with a train of 87 persons, 23 wagons, 33+ head of cattle, 1700 sheep and 29 horses and mules—all right save the "ordinary wear and tear" of wagons and teams, and some wear and tear of heart, especially for going hungry now and then, and eating poor dry beef for a fortnight on the road.—We were so foolish as to join company with this great multitude at

³ Rock City was probably to be located at Table Rock, the site of the Indian fight.

Green River, 60 miles this side of the South Pass, and to come through with them, and dearly we paid for our folly. Our teams were broken down and we were delayed three weeks and over beyond the time we might have made.—There was a great deal of suffering in the train in consequence of the delay—suffering providentially arrested by relief of flour from the valley, meeting us ten days out, near the Sierra Nevadas. We cannot express our obligations to this people for their generosity. It is the noblest community I ever saw. Many had consumed their whole summer in a most sanguinary war of defence with the bloodiest horde of Indians on the continent; all the grain that could be destroyed by fire, had been consumed, and many of the dwellings of the settlers burned down; business of all kinds was totally prostrated, and the famine of the past year threatened a continuance for a year to come; but as news reached the valley that emigrants were suffering on the road, a force of fifty rangers immediately volunteered for their defense against the Indians, and under their protection a train of mules with three tons of flour, \$1,000 worth—was sent to their relief. The whole road to the Sierra Nevadas, and indeed for a hundred miles beyond, was thus effectually occupied and aid supplied as far as any necessity could be anticipated. Wherever the presence of Indians was suspected, there an efficient detachment of troops was posted and the closest watchfulness maintained; whenever property was plundered from emigrants, the most vigorous efforts were made to recover it—and when families were found destitute of bread, they were supplied at the lowest rates to those having money, and free to those having none. And twice after the first, during the emigrating season, provision trains under escort were sent out that there might be no possible failure of the abundance of their liberality. On account of the great disproportion of prices of labor and food, emigrants experience very great difficulty in getting through the first eight months of their residence here; and no one can realize the intense interest felt in their condition by the citizens of the valley. Every

facility within reach of the people is afforded them to obtain food and to find employment. There is a great deal of industry in the valley, and the strangest mixture of economy and liberality I ever saw. With the evidences of friendliness, frankness and generosity a man every where meets, he can hardly believe the community to be composed of people from every part of the Union, a year ago all strangers to one another.—Land here is good—but not as good as that of Wisconsin generally. It is too gravelly. Much of it, especially that most effected by drouth, is quite naked. Generally it is about half covered with a short thick growth of very rich bunch grass that seems to spread some by grazing and may in places eventually form a close turf. A very little of the land on the streams, has grass that may be mown—but the best of it is not what your farmers would call tolerable wild meadow—On the southern slopes of the mountains grass, much of it clover, takes the place of timber, while the northern slopes are covered with pine, (mainly pitch pine) fir and yellow cedar—the latter differing a little from your white cedar, and approaching the famous red-wood, palo colorado, of Oregon and California. Much of the southern slopes, is grown up to a short stunted wild stage—Freemont's artimesia—a form of which covers "the plains" from Scott's Bluffs, below Laramie, to the Sierra Nevadas—fit for neither fuel nor food for man or beast. There is soil everywhere. The rock is very seldom exposed. Now and then you see a wall of sand stone or hornblende running along the mountain side, but you see too that time is fast employed whittling them to earth.

The periodical drouth produces a necessity for irrigation on almost all soils, for the coarser products. Wheat, oats and barley—all cereal grains—do well. They mature before they suffer. Flax is indigenous on all good soils from the Bear river to the Pacific. There is no three months of dog days to make corn. The summer nights are too cool for it and the drouth a little too early. The early kinds are grown but with no great success. With wheat we can beat the world—

and perhaps with oats. With coarse vegetables the country does well. In fat cattle, it can't be beat. Now, at mid-winter, there are hundreds of cattle, as fat as your best stall fed, on the commons—propagating, growing, fattening, with as little human care as the deer on the mountains. The animal grows through all the seasons, and at one year old is as heavy as in your country at two. An *ox* here is expected to weigh eight to eleven hundred, of course, and you see one yoke performing a labor that two of ours can hardly do. The wheat crop for the next harvest is yet, Dec. 17, but little of it in. They sow till March. The plowing of the season is now from a third to a half done. It commences with the rains late in Nov. and continues to the middle of Feb. or first of March. It requires four or five yoke of oxen to break with a plow cutting 14 inches. We have had now four freezing nights, all in succession. It is called remarkably cold. Men complain of the cold as they do in your country when the mercury is 20 degrees below zero. Their houses are very open—about open enough for comfortable summer houses—and they expect to keep warm in them. The commerce of the country is carried on upon pack mules, and so mild are the winters that the “packers” expect to sleep and live in the open air in all seasons, even without tents. The highest point to which the mercury rose last summer was 112 degrees—but the heat was not oppressive as it is in Wisconsin. The air is balmy from the effect of the sea, and one feels free about the chest in the highest heat of summer. In winter the temperature ranges in the neighborhood of zero to 14 degrees below—seldom, perhaps never, freezing in the day time, and only now and then nights. Nobody thinks of such a thing as feeding cattle in the winter. You sometimes see a little stack of hay designed for a working team in time of emergency—but this is not common. It is expected that teams will go right along through the winter, plowing and keeping fat on the new growth of grass which is now green and fine. The old Spanish trail and the present inland commercial route, is through this valley, from California to Oregon. Thousands

of mules are employed on it. Trains are constantly passing. And this multitude, winter and summer, subsist solely on grass. Potatoes and other coarse products are secured when ripe without regard to seasons. The potatoes are not yet all dug—though they ought to be. These things are secured against frost, by putting them into houses about as close as a good log house. The mildness of the winter is a very great advantage to this country. The rains and fogs render it an unpleasant season, but far less than you in that country suppose. The rains came on this year about the middle of November. It rained more than half the time for ten or twelve days, since that, for eighteen days, we have had two storms, and enough to keep the ground very wet—that is all. This is the busy time of the year.—Last summer and fall they had rains out of their season, and many suppose they may be looked for henceforth—but I apprehend there is no good ground for such a hope. We met these rains on the road and they were called unprecedented. The wet weather is from the south westward brought by a tropical sea wind, I take it to be a diverted western monsoon, ranging along the region of mountains forming the whole western coast country of the continent, and it comes warm like a summer shower. We have no cold rain storms.

Hogs do but indifferently. If I were coming here again, I would bring two or three full blood grass breed pigs. On the clover they would do as well as the bears and cattle—but those that subsist on roots and mast have a poor time of it. I should think the hogs of the valley were of Spanish stock—but mean and miserable as they are, a pig is worth an ounce of gold. With such as they are the country will soon be supplied and a better breed be called for. The breed of cattle cannot be improved. Every thing of the kind becomes Durham in a year after it gets here. The Umpqua valley, between here and the Willamet, (pronounced Wil-lam-et) is said to be best for hogs. Hens may be obtained here for about \$2.00 a pair. A family in our train took out a pair, with little trouble. I have

seen no geese nor turkeys, and presume there are none in the valley. Surrounded by mountains as this valley is, it cannot, of course, be otherwise than well watered.

I can only say of the Rogue River what I have heard, that it is so large as to require ferries. On either side, down valleys three or four miles wide flow little creeks—Bear, Bute, Evans, Antelope, &c—from the mountains to the river. There are many little brooks that reach the creeks, and there you see everywhere small spring runs that in a little way lose themselves in the soil—and by all of these is afforded an abundant means for irrigation. A few, very few, trout are in the creeks, and some salmon live to get up here from the sea, but so bruised and beaten about by the drift in the swift streams, that they are unfit to eat. Of game—on the wooden slopes the deer are really “too numerous to mention.” Back a few miles in the mountains, the black, brown and grizzly bears are abundant. The grizzly is one of the noblest animals in the world—more powerful and more fearless than the tiger. There is a species of the American lion, and what is said to be a very fair representative of the hyena, in the mountains—though I doubt whether the latter is vouched for by any very good authority. Myriads of wild geese and sand hill crains—but their place of resort, so far as we know anything about it, is several lakes in the interior, some of which we pass in coming over from the Humboldt, and of which I may write more fully at another time. The grizzly is an animal of incredible strength. I have seen a cub, five months old, break up a bullock’s leg in the joint, stripping away the muscles from the bone with his claws. But they can neither climb a tree nor run along a steep hill side, and so they are not very dangerous. The fiercer animals have never been known to descend into the valley. Small game is scarce. Wild fruit, except the apple, is rather abundant. Of that, no form is found save the tree—a fine crab tree, but bearing only a very few small berries, half as large, perhaps, as a currant, and half as good.—The grapes of this valley are abundant and superior. The domestic apple does remark-

ably well. The native plum grows on a dwarf bush, perhaps 10 to 18 inches high, and has the flavor of the peach. Apple trees for sitting are packed over from the Willamet and sold here for \$1.00 each.

This valley is about 75 miles long and perhaps 8 wide, beside the valleys of the creeks. The lower part of the valley, half of it, or thereabouts, is reserved for the present for the Indians. They attempted last summer to drive out the whites, and after a war of three months, during which about 40 white and 100 Indians were killed, peace was concluded by the surrender of the best half of the valley to the whites. These Indians are a wild fierce tribe, of kin to the Diggers on the Humboldt, and about the lakes this side of there, and the Snakes of Snake river.—They are degraded and cruel beyond measure. It is said that they murder for pastime. They will any of them shoot a man to get his hat. We saw the body of an emigrant that had been dragged from its grave, to be stripped, and left to the ravens. The whole country from the head of the Humboldt to this place, and indeed to the ocean, except the “desert,” sixty miles, is infested by them to such an extent that no place is safe. I wrote you what we heard of the Humboldt Indians—the Diggers—of their extinction by the small pox. We found it partially so—and no one comes over the plains without wishing it were so of all these tribes. At the western junction of the Bear river and Salt Lake roads, we heard of the war of the Utahs and Mormons, the particulars of which you probably had long ago. The opinion of the most intelligent men I saw who came that way, was, that the war was got up by the Mormons as a pretext for consolidating their military establishment and fortifying the passes to the city. Bad as the Utahs are, all who came that way agree that the Mormons are worse—that they are more adept at theft and more reckless at robbery. Much trouble is yet to be experienced with that community. The cattle trains that came by Salt Lake sustained more loss within striking distance of that city than those by the Bear river road on the whole trip.—

The closest vigilance was insufficient to prevent the theft of cattle. The property of emigrants is probably no safer there than in the country of the Pawnee. I thought our road over the mountains by the Bear river was the worst possible, but I would advise those having any more than a small number of cattle, to come that way rather than run the hazards by Salt Lake. But I am digressing here. More of this anon.

The wood of the valley is mainly pitch pine, fir, cedar and burr oak. This pine cannot be split at all, and is too heavy for convenience—heavier than water. It however makes our lumber, while a mammoth pine of the mountain summits, called the sugar pine, makes our shingles and the *shakes* with which frame houses are generally covered. Our rail timber is the cedar and fir. The oak is a short, tough, gnarled tree like your burr oak, used only for fuel. The poplar and poorer species of the elm flourish along the streams, and in many places every thing is covered with the grape vine. The yew tree grows here and there on the mountains—and so does the laurel.—The alder grows to a tree 18 inches in diameter—but it is useless. There is a tree representing the butternut but it has no fruit save a seed like that of the maple, and one called the *mansimeter*, a more splendid tree than you ever saw; the “misseltoe bough” too, rendering the oak classic with its associations. The maple, linn and hickory are unknown here—though the hazel, a brittle thing in your country, by its singular toughness supplies the place of the latter for some purposes. The mapparel, the crookedest, ugliest and most obstinate bush you ever saw, forms the upland undergrowth.

The best informed men put the population of the valley at three to four thousand—three to four hundred being in the village of Jacksonville—and among them our old friend, Dr. E. H. Cleveland, of Watertown. He is the only old acquaintance I have seen except Mr. Warren, of Hartland, whom I met on the plains and who called on you at your place. The Doctor is doing well—first rate—and sends his respects to all who remember him. He has actually driven out all competition

and is now doing all the business of the valley in the line of his profession. The Dr. is now enjoying as much of wealth and the confidence of the people as any many in the valley. There are few—perhaps ten or twelve—families in the village. The first time I was here I saw but one woman and she kept a bowling saloon and drunkery. Since that we have found a good society of families. The mass of the men “keep batch”—the merchants in their stores, and mechanics in their shops—even the Justice of the Peace, with several miners, cooks, eats and sleeps in “the office,” a circular mosque-like building, made of “shakes,” I believe without a board or pane of glass about it. The houses, except one, the Robinson House, are all made of these things, and are generally lighted by the crevices or windows of cotton cloth. The first successful schools in the valley are just started by persons of our company, are in Jacksonville to be the basis of an academy and one in the country. The first religious societies—three Methodist—are now being organized, with five clergymen, of the same denomination, all of our company, in the field. The most flourishing branches of business are those of the bowling saloon, the gambling den and the drunkery—and yet there is less of gambling and drinking in the place than you would expect to see. Merchants and mechanics are doing well. There is no cooper, gunsmith, carriage maker nor shoemaker doing business in the place—though by another year, they might all, save the latter succeed well. We have but one saw mill in the valley—though three more, at least, are commenced, and a grist mill is to be ready for the next harvest.

We find it very difficult to become familiarized to the enormous prices in this country. Flour, this winter, ranges from 20c to 25c a pound, beef is 20c and 25c, bacon, mess 37c, prime 45c, potatoes 6c, squashes &c., 4c a pound. Salt is 25c a pound, candles 75c a 100c, coffee 37c, sugar 33c, butter \$1.25, milk 100c a gallon. While domestic staple products, it will be seen, bear from five to ten prices, labor bears but two to four—as, per day, \$2.00a\$3.00; per month, \$50.00a\$75.00. This renders

it extremely difficult for emigrants to subsist the first few months. Some of our folks say they never before found "existence so much a problem."—Some of them, men heretofore well to do in the world, have dug potatoes *for every 30th* bushel; some have worked for \$2.00 a day, with board, and paid \$4.80 a bushel for potatoes—the price when we came. I sold a good log chain for five squashes. A neighbor sold a good wagon for 100 hills of potatoes, and got the worth of the wagon, \$80.00, and I sold one for 100 lbs. of flour and 750 lbs. or 12½ bushels potatoes. Oxen are worth, by the yoke, but \$100 to \$160 and cows from \$75 to \$100 each. The difficulty of obtaining food is increased 100 per cent by the voracious wolfish appetites of all new comers. People eat till they are themselves astonished, and oftener thus than till they are satisfied. I presume four-fifths of those who have been here but three months, experience great trouble in getting enough to eat. It is a hard thing to say of the country, but it is true; and tell your readers if they do not wish to realize it, to stay at home. When a man gets to raising and selling agricultural products, or becomes established in any other business the profits of which are three or four times the profits of labor, he can prosper—but not till then.—That is too true. And you can tell them that if people were not made over, or rather half unmade, by the dehumanising processes through which they go from Kanesville here, they would never submit to the conditions of this country. They would never submit to living in such houses, with such an absence of the conveniences and comforts of eastern life, and such a destitution of intellectual and moral opportunities, if they had not already learned on the plains to submit to anything. You can tell them that too; and tell them they can never, in living here, get paid for coming over the plains. I am not homesick; I am not prejudiced; I only tell you facts. And it is in fulfillment of a pledge to many of your readers, to tell them facts, that I tell them much more than half of those, in this country of mild winters, of a fruitful soil and mines of gleaming gold, are dissatisfied and

regret having come here. Of those who have come without their friends, I have heard not one express an intention to bring them here. The general expression of such is, "I am glad my family are not here;" while the mass of those who stay, stay for other reasons than because they like the country. —We are all told that by another year or so we shall prefer it to the East. I know not how that may be; but I know that a large portion of those who have been here eighteen months, the time of the settlement, intend to leave.

Mining is being perhaps fairly paid now. Some are making fortunes and some making nothing, or less. There is room for many thousand miners in this valley. The gold, in some quantity, is exhaustless. And the farther explorations are carried in every direction from us, the more extensive the gold bearing country is found. New diggings are discovered somewhere every day. There is gold enough—more than can be washed out. And yet mining is a very precarious business. I would advise no one to come here to mine, because he is very likely to expend years of labor without profits and very sure to get less gold than will repay him for what he undergoes in coming and living a miner's life. It is worth something to "see the elephant," and well enough, perhaps, at least for a young man, to waste two years in learning the lesson of a trip to, and a residence in this country; and it is "well enough" for them only, as young men are bound to fool away about so much time, and there is no school in which they can learn as fast, or by the discipline of which truths will be so indelibly impressed on their memories. I will write again soon.

My respects to all—accept assurances &c.

of Yours,

S. H. TAYLOR.

[*Watertown Chronicle*, April 5, 1854]

Jacksonville, O. T., Jan. 17, '54.

Dear Sir—I write to advise you of the occurrence of a new and probably a serious difficulty with the Indians. On the

13th inst. a force of about 30 whites, near the Cottonwood, about 40 miles from here, on the road south to California, in the Chastee valley, went out in pursuit of Indians who had for some weeks been engaged in the theft of cattle. They had traced them into the mountains to a cave, when they were attacked by about 100 Indians from an ambush, and dispersed with the loss of their rations and ammunition—having four men killed and four seriously wounded. The attack was well sustained by the whites, in a fight continuing in one form or another, all day. The loss of the enemy is unknown.

The Indians are of the Shastee and Rogue river Tribes—a portion from a band located but about nine miles from here. It is generally treated as a prelude to certain war.—A Capt. Wright, a famous Indian hunter, of this valley, has gone to the scene of the affair, and at Yreka and Cottonwood is raising a volunteer company to pursue them.—It was intended to have 200 regular troops stationed in this valley before this time—but they are not here, and no one knows when they may be. But regulars or no regulars, should these tribes renew hostilities, the citizens will make short work with them.—I will advise you of the progress of the affair.

Yours, &c.

S. H. TAYLOR.

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THE LAST PHASE OF THE OREGON BOUNDARY QUESTION*

THE STRUGGLE FOR SAN JUAN ISLAND

By ANDREW FISH

Introduction—The Diplomatic Background—The Hudson's Bay Company and Vancouver Island—The Hudson's Bay Company and Colonization—The Effect of the Gold Rush—San Juan Island—The Crisis of 1859—General Harney's Vigorous Action—The Crisis of 1859—Governor Douglas' Belligerent Response—The Advent of Admiral Baynes—Washington Intervenes—Arrival of General Winfield Scott—Generals Scott and Harney—Who Was to Blame?—President Buchanan's Attitude—Later Stages of the Diplomatic Struggle—Summary and Conclusion.

INTRODUCTION.

My story concerns San Juan, an island which lies in the Gulf of Georgia and is included in the State of Washington. Though too insignificant a matter to find a place in the general histories of our country, the contest between America and Britain for the sovereignty of these few acres at one particular juncture almost led to hostilities between the small armed contingents on the northwest coast; an event which, in a time

*Offered as part fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of A. M. at the University of Oregon, May, 1921.

when feelings were none too friendly, not inconceivably might have brought on a war between the two powers.

There were anxious moments for diplomats in Washington and London. Contrary to some popular notions, in this case at least the diplomats' anxiety was not to bring on hostilities but to prevent them. The cause of their anxiety was that, far away on the debated frontier, otherwise admirable servants of their governments displayed more patriotism than discretion, and were concerned more with possession than peace. The question was given a considerable proportion of space in one of President Buchanan's annual messages on the state of the nation, where it jostled with affairs that are better remembered, as, for instance, the wild doings in Kansas of one John Brown; and in private notes and correspondence among statesmen an ominous word occurred and recurred, if only to be spoken of as denoting a state of things highly undesirable and to be avoided if at all consistent with national self-respect. The strain was soon over and high politicians breathed freely again. A temporary settlement brought composure, though the final disposition was not made for a dozen years or so. The scene of the final stage of this diplomatic war is Berlin in the year eighteen hundred and seventy-one. In Berlin, the capital of a brand new Empire, the sovereign destiny of little San Juan was discussed by scholars and statesmen of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. It was decided by the Emperor himself while yet the gilt of his crown had lost none of its bright newness. If on the face of it this does not seem to allow self-determination to San Juan, let me hasten to say that the decision awarding the territory to the United States was hailed with joy by the settlers and proclaimed to be an act of justice.

If the matter was comparatively trivial to statesmen seeking a solution, peaceful or otherwise, of such problems as slavery in these States and Territories, and the possible consequences to European relations of an Italian war of liberation, with the complications of Louis Napoleon's adventures in that connection, it was of some importance to the handful of pioneer

Americans and Britishers of the Northwest—the advance guard of European civilization. Not only were the acres themselves desirable, but upon the just settlement of the dispute depended in some measure the spirit in which the citizens of the two neighbor nations were to dwell together.

Furthermore, it was viewed as one skirmish in the war between the settlers on the one hand and the giant monopoly, the Hudson's Bay Company, on the other. A fundamental antagonism is represented here—that between the individualism of the settler whose ideal was that of personal independence, and the characteristic outreaching of an impersonal corporation with its host of servants. Behind this again lay the essential opposition between two economic ideas, an opposition that has been apparent throughout the history of the Pacific Northwest. For the settler the basis of material existence was cultivated land, but for the Company it was wild land; one primarily worked for grain and cattle, and the other traded for furs. The more land under cultivation the fewer fur-bearing animals.

While it is true that in the case of San Juan Island it was grazing land for the incidental business of stock raising that the Company was after, nevertheless the hostility between the aims of the grain-grower and the fur trader accounted for the long-standing bitterness felt by the farmers toward the Hudson's Bay Company, and to a large extent for the outburst of warlike temper over San Juan. The victory of the ranchers meant much more than actual possession of the land. It meant that; it meant a victory for the flag; and it also meant a successful blow at the power interested in preventing the spread of the industry and culture of the white man, the power doing its utmost to postpone the inevitable day when the forest should be cleared to make habitations for civilized man, and when the redeemed soil should be turned to his uses. Of course, even in British North America, the demand for settlement could not be denied by the Company for long; but the difference in aims accounted for the hatred shown by settlers to the Company.

THE DIPLOMATIC BACKGROUND.

The expansion of Europe on the North American continent began with the successful expeditions of the Spanish soldier pioneers; the realm of the Aztec ruler, Montezuma, in Mexico was effectively annexed to Spain by 1521. Already the Spaniards were in possession of some of the most desirable of the West Indian islands; they had established themselves in Central America, and had penetrated Florida to the north. After Cortez's justly famous capture of Mexico City, various expeditions made brilliant discoveries along the Pacific coast and up through the interior to regions now included in the State of Kansas.

Europe, of course, was not a unit, and expansion was effected through the most intense and bitter rivalry among the leading European nations. After Spain came England. Attempts at settlement were being made before the sixteenth century had run its course, but not until 1607 at Jamestown, was a permanent foothold gained. From this developed the Old Dominion of Virginia. Separate movements beginning in 1620 produced the New England settlements; royal grants opened up still further tracts of land to English colonists; and an inconveniently situated Dutch Colony lying between the English northern and southern groups was quietly annexed so that the Atlantic coast from Canada to Carolina was under the same flag.

Not only Spain and England, but France also must expand. She had her intrepid discoverers as had the others; in 1608 Champlain founded Quebec, and to the north of the English there grew up the great French Empire, Canada. The writing of this magnificent epic was the life-work of Francis Parkman. North, west, and south along the valley of the Mississippi went these adventurous Frenchmen, annexing enormous stretches of territory to the French crown. The result was that by claiming the whole Mississippi region under the name of Louisiana any possible expansion of the English was

blocked—a fact that had important consequences for both nations concerned.

Through European complications not wholly germane to our present purpose, France and England were engaged in a mighty war throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century. The real significance of this great struggle is now clearly seen to be that it was for a world empire affecting the future of such vast but dissimilar countries as America and India. Aside from Europe, and only considering the relative positions of the two countries in America, it is difficult to see how hostilities could have been avoided. The fortunes of war greatly favored England; Wolfe took Quebec in 1759, Amherst took Montreal in 1760, and great victories were won over France and her ally Spain at sea. By the peace treaty England, among other things, got all territory in North America east of the Mississippi between the Hudson Bay on the north and the Gulf of Mexico on the south. To Spain went the territories west of the river. So ended the great struggle between the two leading powers of Europe for world empire, a struggle which was the most important fact of world politics during the eighteenth century. The success of Great Britain was complete and, so far, final.

The pressure of the French removed, the colonies claimed complete self-government in 1776. This claim they successfully maintained by force of arms; the peace negotiations which ended the war gave to the new republic the line of the Great Lakes for its limit on the north and the Mississippi on the west. The southern boundary was the subject of a dispute with Spain which lasted until 1819 when Florida was added to the United States.

The southern line has little to do with our present purpose, but the acquisition of Louisiana from the French in 1803 has a direct bearing. The territory called Louisiana, stretching from the borders of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, had been taken from Spain by Napoleon in 1800. In view of France's international

position her possession of New Orleans was an alarming circumstance to the Americans, who were at the time developing to the west and dependent upon the Mississippi for transportation and upon New Orleans as a port of shipment for their products. By a stroke of policy in which was mingled sagacity and sheer good luck Jefferson, who was then president, purchased from Napoleon, hard pressed in Europe and with no leisure in which to develop a colonial empire, not New Orleans only but the whole of Louisiana for what seems to us today the ridiculously small sum of fifteen million dollars. This important step doubled the area of the United States; it also led to disputes with Great Britain about the northern boundary. This line was eventually fixed in 1818 by a treaty signed by both parties in which it was agreed to accept the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude from the Lake of the Woods to the Rockies. We must remember that forty-ninth parallel, it plays an important part in subsequent events.

The forty-ninth parallel was definite enough so far as it went, but it was not at the time accepted as the dividing line between the possessions of the two powers lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, the region known as the Oregon Country. Four powers had established and acknowledged rights on the Pacific Coast—Spain, the United States, Great Britain, and Russia. By agreement with the United States in 1818, the northern limit of the Spanish sphere was set at the forty-second parallel; by treaties between the United States and Russia, and Great Britain and Russia, in 1825 the parallel of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes was accepted as the southern Russian boundary. The Oregon country lay in between, having for its eastern boundary the Rocky Mountains. Over this territory the United States and Great Britain waged a long, and sometimes very bitter, diplomatic war; indeed, it seemed at times as if the matter might be pressed to a decision by more destructive weapons than the arguments of diplomats.

When on October 20, 1818,¹ the line of the forty-ninth parallel from the Lakes of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains was agreed on, the difficulties in the way of a decision as to the Oregon country were too great, and the settlement was postponed by arranging for a joint occupation for ten years, without prejudice to the claims of either party. On the face of it this seemed to be quite fair to all interests, but in reality it greatly favored the Hudson's Bay Company, which soon was well established in the region; it was in fact the greatest human economic factor. The agreement was renewed in 1828, but the necessity for some permanent form of government was becoming more and more acute, mainly on account of the increasing population of American settlers.

The sentiment in favor of the claim of the United States to the whole of the territory was so strong that in May, 1844, the Democratic Convention gave it a place in their party platform, declaring that the title of the United States to the whole of Oregon was "clear and unquestionable" and that "no part of the same ought to be ceded to England, or to any other power." During the election the issue was summed up in a phrase which has more alliteration than sound judgment—"Fifty-four Forty or Fight!" President Polk adhered to the claim in his inaugural address, but the attitude of the administration soon modified, for on July 12, 1845, James Buchanan, Secretary of State in Polk's cabinet, suggested the forty-ninth parallel, and offered to make free to Great Britain such ports on Vancouver Island south of that line as she might desire.² Pakenham, the British Minister at Washington, refused this, but in so doing misunderstood the sentiment of his government. London was favorable but by the time this news reached Washington the administration was not prepared to renew the offer. A British offer of arbitration made in December of the same year was refused by Buchanan. Then quite suddenly the way opened. As the result of suggestions emanating from Buchanan in February, 1846, and of the ready response in

¹ For the diplomatic aspects of this whole question see John Bassett Moore: *History and Digest of International Arbitrations*, Vol. 1.

² Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, 29th Cong., 1st Sess. (Quoted by Moore.)

London to the advances so made, by June Pakenham presented a draft treaty which was accepted by the Senate and by the President without the alteration of a word. The boundary was to be along the forty-ninth parallel, but it was provided that the whole of Vancouver Island should remain British; in the words of the treaty the line should go "to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and southerly through the middle of the said channel and of Fuca's Straights, to the Pacific Ocean."

This was substantial victory for Washington as the British claim had been the forty-ninth parallel until it meets the Columbia River, and from thence the line of the river. The navigation of the river was important in view of the business of the fur company whose chief depot was at Fort Vancouver. Fifty-four-forty can hardly have been seriously meant, so that the only concession made by the United States was that with regard to Vancouver Island. With the treaty signed it really seemed as if the long wrangle was finally ended in mutual good will. Little was known by diplomats of the geography of the region, and if they knew there was more than one channel that might be covered by the terms of the treaty, affecting variously the sovereignty of some small island territories, there is no hint of it in that document. Moore suggests that the negotiators, anxious not to jeopardize again the much desired settlement, refrained from entering into controversy about what must have seemed to them a very small matter. What, after all, are a few pin-points on the map of the great Pacific Northwest? Yet the controversy over a few of those pin-points, and principally over one of them, is the excuse for the present writing.

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND VANCOUVER ISLAND.

The Hudson's Bay Company, or more properly, the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay, is a corporation whose fortunes are interwoven

with those of the whole Pacific Northwest. It was originally formed in 1670 and received from Charles the Second of England a charter securing to them

“the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they be, that lie within the entrance of the straits commonly called Hudson’s Straits, together with all lands and territories upon the countries, coasts and confines of the seas, bays, etc., aforesaid, that are not already actually possessed by or granted to any of our subjects, or possessed by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state.”³

After the cession of Canada to Great Britain by France in 1763 many traders began to compete with the great Company in their business of bartering with the Indians for furs, especially in the new territories of the west. These individual speculators eventually formed the North-West Fur Company of Montreal. The result of the competition between the servants of the two corporations was deplorable. The Indians were corrupted by liquor; dark stories are told of what white men did to each other in the scramble for the gains of this exceedingly profitable employment, and the supply of furs was in some danger of giving out through indiscriminate slaughter. By 1821 the unwisdom of this strife was recognized and an amalgamation took place. A license was obtained granting exclusive trading rights in the regions west and northwest of the old grant. The North-West Company lost its identity, and in 1838 the Hudson’s Bay Company procured a new license for monopoly trading rights in the western lands for twenty-one years. This was not renewed on its expiration in 1859. The license of 1838 defined the territory affected thus:

“The exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America to the northward and to the westward of the lands and territories belonging to the United States of America as should not form part of any of our provinces in North America, or of any lands or territories belonging to said United States of America, or to any European Government, State or Power.”⁴

³ See *Ency. Brit.* 11th Ed. Art. Hudson’s Bay Company.

⁴ Quoted in “*The Treaty of Washington*” by Caleb Cushing p. 217.

From this the interest of the Company in the boundary question becomes sufficiently apparent. This corporation, so typical a product of the Commercial Revolution which has played so large a part in determining the economic structure of modern society, from its headquarters in London was exercising powers of invisible government, retarding a diplomatic settlement, while in the regions concerned it was exercising powers that were not invisible to retard civilization generally and the settlement of farmers in particular. Perhaps after such a statement a word of explanation is necessary. While the Hudson's Bay Company was a sinister influence behind so many of the difficulties of northwestern development it was not because of any extra measure of original sin in the Company or its officials, but simply because of the nature of its operations. The story of its transactions presents the tangled web of good and evil common to all human stories.

This is not the place to do more than note a few of the chief events leading up to those we have specially to consider. Dr. John McLoughlin built Fort Vancouver on the banks of the Columbia River in the years 1824 and 1825 and remained long enough in charge of that station and exercised his power so wisely as to earn, even among the American pioneers, the title "Father of Oregon". The fort was the headquarters of the Company on the Pacific and the center of an extensive and lucrative business, not only with the natives for furs but with the settlers who began to arrive very soon after the establishment of the fort, and who by the forties were entering in considerable numbers. In 1843 the Company saw fit to build a depot and fort at Victoria, then known by its native name of Camosun, at the southern end of Vancouver Island. This was destined to supersede Vancouver as the principal station. The reasons for the change are not far to seek. The boundary question could not be postponed very much longer as American settlers were present in such force in the Willamette Valley by 1841 as to take preliminary steps toward the formation of a

government. The subject was being urgently pressed upon the attention of Congress, and in 1843 a provisional government was actually established. Two strong reasons, then, would present themselves for moving headquarters: it was desirable to have a situation on territory that was likely to remain British, and it was necessary to get in front of colonization if trading with the natives was to continue, for fur-trading and farming are incompatible. Furthermore, the establishment of substantial commercial interests on the island would strengthen the British claim to possession; nor were the officials of the Company unintelligent in their attitude to the new economic situation presented by the rapid increase in settlement. If the golden days were going when paltry trinkets could be exchanged for valuable pelts procured by innocent Indians, good business in general supplies could be done with the shipping population of the Pacific Ocean. They were in the business themselves and knew how to cater to the skippers of vessels trading with China and the South Seas, or engaged about the perilous business of the whale-fisheries. Victoria was a very suitable spot. There was more reason for the foundation of Victoria than for that of many a western city.

As early as 1837 the south end of Vancouver Island was explored by W. McNeil of the Hudson's Bay post at Fort Simpson.⁵ In 1842 (the year American sentiment was strongly expressed) James Douglas, who was factor at Vancouver, made a careful preliminary survey and reported favorably on the site, although the harbor at Esquimalt was better and easier to enter. Camosun was the better place for a fort and there was suitable arable and pasture land in the immediate vicinity. In the spring of 1843 fifteen men under Douglas started out. Men from the northern posts were also ordered to join the party and assist in the work. Douglas and his men touched at Cowlitz where supplies were obtainable; at Nisqually, the "Beaver", first steamship in these waters, awaited them. They left Vancouver on March first and arrived at Camosun on the fourteenth. Father Bolduc, a Jesuit missionary, zealous soul

⁵ Bancroft: *History of British Columbia* p. 84.

that he was, immediately began to exercise his offices upon the Indians and is said to have baptized until exhausted. Douglas gave aid but had also other work to do; a site for the fort must be selected and material for its erection gathered. The "Beaver" went north for the other part of the expedition, leaving those on the spot to prepare timbers, dig a well and so forth. She was back on the first of June and the work was pushed ahead. In another three months stockades, bastions, store, and dwelling houses were ready. Supplies came from Vancouver and the new community was fairly launched. Roderick Finlayson took command in 1844, and was practically ruler of the island. As an example of the economy of Douglas and the ingenuity of Finlayson it is recorded that Fort Camosun was built without a single nail; nothing but wooden pegs were used. As to the name, it was changed from Camosun to Albert, honoring the Queen's consort, but soon afterwards it became Victoria, whether from fresh access of patriotism or not I am unable to say. Cattle was taken from the mainland; ground was broken by primitive ploughs; ships from England began to arrive; whalers called, and presently British naval vessels used it as a station.

Only the regular business of a trading post was carried on for some years, but a change took place after the discovery of gold in California in 1848. As a supply depot for mines Victoria got some of the overflow business of San Francisco; also some of the miners preferred to spend the winter in this less expensive and less riotous place. These facts affected the economic situation in that it not only brought more business but provided gold as a medium of exchange. It also caused great excitement and unrest among the population. Finlayson⁶ gives us an illuminating picture of the coming of the strangers into this somewhat primitive society.

"These rough-looking miners landed here from their vessels, which entered the harbor early in 1849. I took them first to be pirates, and ordered our men to prepare for action. I, however, entered into conversation with them,

⁶ See Bancroft p. 181.

and finding who they were, was satisfied as to their friendship for us. They had leather bags, full of gold nuggets, which they offered to me in exchange for goods."

This gold he took at eleven dollars an ounce in trade.

In 1849 the first independent party of colonists, that is, those other than Hudson's Bay Company servants, arrived in the colony and it will be necessary to discuss a little the prospects for settlement under the crown grant made to the Company by the British Government.

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND COLONIZATION.

We have noted the inherent and fundamental opposition of the trader and the farmer in these Indian lands newly opened to the white man. The Hudson's Bay Company officials apparently saw that permanent settlement was bound to come throughout the northwest as it had done in the Willamette Valley, and yet they resisted it as long as they could. If colonization had to go forward, it should be, if they could compass it, just as slowly as they might think best for their interests. They offered to take over from the British Government the whole of the territory now comprising British Columbia (the mainland was then called New Albion) and administer it for settlement. Interest in emigration was keen in England at the time on account of the distress everywhere prevalent (Chartism reached a crisis it will be remembered in 1848), and the government did not dare to grant this even if it had wished to. The Company graciously consented to entertain the idea of restricting their plan to the island, but this offer was opposed from two quarters when the government seemed to favor it. Radical members like Roebuck attacked the scheme on the ground that it gave too much to a great monopoly at the expense of settlers; even Mr. Gladstone opposed it. Another attack from a somewhat different quarter was that of men like James Edward Fitzgerald who had colonization schemes of their own, conceived in a more generous spirit.

Lieutenant Adam D. Dundas of the Royal Navy, who had spent two years on the Northwest Coast, in a confidential report to the British Government, advised strongly against the grant.⁷ He considered the island "highly favorable for the establishment of a colony" but had "no hesitation in saying that their [the Company's] system would be wholly and totally inapplicable to the nursing of a young colony". However, Sir J. H. Pelly, the Governor of the Company in England, by means not difficult to conjecture, had more power with the Government than all his opponents combined. The matter was debated in the House of Commons and the members of the administration were bombarded with hostile letters but all to small purpose. In 1849 the Crown granted the whole of Vancouver Island to the great Company on condition that it should be opened up for settlement.

"The grant is embodied in a charter, which . . . grants the land of Vancouver's Island with all mines to the Company. The condition of the grant is declared to be the colonization of the island. With this object the Company are bound to dispose of the land in question at a reasonable price, and to expend all the sums they may receive for land or mineral (after the deduction of not more than ten per cent for profit) on the colonization of the island, reserving also to the Crown at a reasonable price such land as may be required for naval establishments.

"The manner in which these provisions are intended to be enforced is this. The Company are to certify every two years the number of colonists and the amount of their land sold; and after five years Her Majesty's Government has power to cause a farther enquiry to be made into the condition of the island. If the result of this enquiry be that the Government is satisfied that the conditions of the grant are not fulfilled, the grant may be revoked.

"When the Company's license to trade terminates, i. e., in 1859, Government may repurchase the land on payment of the sums expended by the Company on the island and the value of their establishments."⁸

⁷ *Report of the Provincial Archives Department of the Province of British Columbia, 1913*, p. 49.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Much depended, of course, on the terms upon which land could be procured. These terms were not stipulated in the charter, but were approved by the British Minister for the Colonies. The price was one pound per acre and no lot was to be less than twenty acres. If large tracts of land were taken, the price was the same, and the purchaser undertook to take out with him five single men or three married couples for every hundred acres. All minerals were to remain in the possession of the Company but the owner of the land might work coal by paying a royalty of two shillings and six pence per ton. While it was true that the American settler had to provide for his own public improvement and was without the parental guidance of his government, the terms upon which he could procure land touch the farthest limits of generosity compared with these. The British settler by declaring intention to naturalize might have given to him in the Oregon Country 320 acres without any irksome restrictions and conditions, and if he were married 640 acres would be donated to him. It is clear enough that the Company had determined to control, if they could not prevent, colonization.

Attempts at settlement were made, notably by Captain Grant at Sooke, who took out a party from Great Britain, but the most successful settlers were ex-servants of the Company. They had experience and were more or less used to the ways of the Company.

Victoria was made the political capital by the establishment of a government in 1850 with Blanchard as first governor. There was misunderstanding over the terms of his appointment, and the following year he returned to England, being succeeded by James Douglas, the chief Hudson's Bay officer of the Northwest. Until 1859 Douglas continued to hold both positions, thus completing control of the monopoly over all the affairs of the colony. All land must be purchased from the monopolizers; they alone had the supplies needed by the settler; they alone provided a market for his product; prices in buying and selling were fixed by them. A petition signed

by fifteen men and presented to Governor Blanchard when it was known that he had decided to resign, after protesting against the appointment of James Douglas, asked for the creation of a council. The signers evidently had no idea of being able to prevent Douglas' appointment, but thought they might modify the autocracy. The council was formed, but it could scarcely alter the basic facts of the situation. This state of things lasted until 1859 when the reign of the Hudson's Bay Company came to an end.

The gold rush to the Fraser River and the Cariboo country completely changed Victoria, giving to it the metropolitan character which it still retains. After the mainland and the island united under one colonial government in 1866 the city became the political capital and so remains.

EFFECT OF THE GOLD RUSH.

The discovery of gold, beginning in 1856, brought great changes to the colony, altering its character and leading up to the end of the Hudson's Bay Company's regime. The city of Victoria became a base for mine operations, and rapidly increased in size. The chief diggings, which were on the mainland, were reached by ship from Victoria to New Westminster, Fort Hope, or Fort Yale on the Fraser River. The big rush began in 1858, drawing many Americans from Washington, Oregon, and California. The population became predominantly American, both in Victoria and in the mines. Governor Douglas assumed responsibility for the government of the new region while he was still filling the double role of head of the Government of Vancouver Island and chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Very soon national jealousies expressed themselves in the regulations about claims and conditions generally at the diggings, while the Company showed a disposition to exact from the miners for transportation all the traffic would bear. This was after it became evident that the movement had assumed considerable proportions. In the early days

the gold seekers found their way from Victoria in canoes, or by whatever better means could be secured. The irruption of these outsiders into his peaceful domain seems to have been unwelcome to the governor. At all events it presented unwonted problems and raised anxious questions. In the first stages of the movement, as early as May 8, 1858, Douglas wrote in an anxious strain to the Colonial Office in London describing disturbed conditions and voicing fears.⁹ Intense excitement, we are told, prevailed even as far south as San Francisco. "Boats, canoes, and every species of small craft, are continually employed in pouring their cargoes of human beings into Fraser's River." The men seemed to be well provided with tools, capital, and intelligence. They had been represented as specimens of the worst population, "the very dregs, in fact, of society." The Governor candidly admits, however:

"Their conduct while here would have led me to form a very different conclusion; as our little town, though crowded to excess with this sudden influx of people, and though there was a temporary scarcity of food, and dearth of house accommodation, the police few in number, and many temptations to excess in the way of drink, yet quiet and order prevailed, and there was not a single committal for rioting, drunkenness, or other offences, during their stay here."

Remarkable enough, all must agree. But after all, should these foreigners be welcomed?

"Taking a view of the subject, simply in its relation to trade and commerce, apart from considerations of national policy, such perhaps would be the course most likely to promote the interests of this colony; but, on the contrary, if the country be thrown open to indiscriminate immigration the interests of the Empire may suffer from the introduction of a foreign population, whose sympathies may be decidedly anti-British. Taking that view of the question it assumes an alarming aspect, and suggests a doubt as to the policy of permitting the free entrance of foreigners into British territory for residence without in the first place requiring them to take the oath of allegiance, and otherwise to give such security for their conduct as

⁹ Copies of Extracts of *Correspondence relative to the Discovery of Gold in the Fraser's River District in British North America*. Presented to Parliament July 2, 1858, by the Government. (Copy consulted at the Provincial Archives at Victoria, B. C.)

the Government of the country may deem it proper and necessary to require at their hands."

London had not so much reason to fear the Americans as had Victoria, and the British Government was quite explicit in expressing its sentiments when it sent a dispatch to Douglas through the distinguished Colonial Secretary, Sir. E. Bulwer Lytton. Douglas was commended for his vigilance, and was promised the help he might need for maintaining order and preserving national rights. However:

"It is no part of their [Her Majesty's Government's] policy to exclude Americans and other foreigners from the gold fields. On the contrary, you are distinctly instructed to oppose no obstacle whatever to their resort thither for the purposes of digging in those fields, so long as they submit themselves, in common with the subjects of Her Majesty, to the recognition of Her authority, and conform to such rules of police as you may have thought proper to establish."

Remembering that the Governor was still the chief officer of the Hudson's Bay Company's Victoria post and therefore had what might be called the "Company" attitude toward immigration and the still unsettled claims to the islands in the Gulf of Georgia, we may attach considerable significance to the fact that Sir E. Bulwer Lytton finds it necessary to include in the instructions the following wise injunction:

"Under the circumstances of so large an immigration of Americans into English territory, I need hardly impress upon you the importance of caution and delicacy in dealing with those manifold cases of international relationships and feeling which are certain to arise, and which but for the exercise of temper and discretion might easily lead to serious complications between two neighboring and powerful states."

The tide of immigration was too strong to stem; moreover the attempt to stem it was prohibited by express injunction. But the Company still had its trading monopoly and proceeded to exploit, when it was no longer feasible to exclude, the immigrants. (It may be said by the way that the Com-

pany's affairs in the Northwest were investigated by a House of Commons Committee in 1857 and 1858, and, on the recommendation made, the monopoly was not renewed when it expired in 1859. This was the result of great opposition both in British Columbia and in England.) Complaints were loud and powerful enough to reach Washington, causing the United States Government to send a special agent to the seat of the trouble. Mr. John Nugent, Special Agent of the United States, was in Victoria and vicinity during October and November, 1858; he presented his report in January, 1859.¹⁰

The grievances of the Americans were sufficiently serious to have been made the subject of conversations with the British representative. "Repeated assurances" of Lord Napier, the British Minister at Washington, had aroused the hope that the heavy exactions would be lightened if the request were presented in specific detail. The Special Agent was to procure first-hand information; also to do what was possible to lessen the friction between the citizens of the two powers. The report states:

"The chief purpose of the special agency intrusted to me I understand to be, to infuse among the citizens of the United States, temporarily resident in the vicinity of Fraser River, a spirit of subordination to the colonial authorities, and of respect for the laws of Great Britain, and, at the same time, by such representations to the Governor of Vancouver Island as circumstances would suggest, to endeavor to obtain from the functionary the abrogation of the rigorous systems of exactions theretofore pursued, and the adoption for the future of such a policy toward Americans as would not be inconsistent with their right as the citizens of a friendly power, and would, furthermore, tend to promote among them feelings of kindness and good will towards the government and the subjects of Great Britain. Some such intervention by the United States was deemed necessary, for the reason that much exasperation was alleged to exist among those of our citizens, then making their way to the Fraser River mines, against the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and

10 Ex. Doc. No. 111, 35th Cong. 2nd Sess.

the authorities of Vancouver's Island, in consequence of the onerous exactions to which they were said to have been subjected by those officials."

Interesting information is given in the report about conditions in general. It is estimated that somewhere between thirty and thirty-three thousand went into the gold region, most of them during the three months of May, June and July of 1858. Those who came first had to use canoes, skiffs, whale-boats and the like, because American ships were excluded from the river and no other transportation was available. Many lost their lives with the destruction of their crazy craft. Presently Mr. Douglas, "Governor of Vancouver's Island and chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company," issued permits to Americans to navigate the river on payment of a fee for each trip. He reserved the right to withdraw permission when he saw fit, which would be, of course, when British vessels were available for the traffic. As the license was issued in the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, Mr. Nugent urges that this was illegal.

"Great Britain had the right to exclude our steamers from the waters of Fraser River, but if Great Britain did not choose to assert that right, how could the Hudson's Bay Company's servants claim to make conditions with our people, and charge toll for the privilege of entering? Admitting that they had the right of exclusive trade with the Indians, that did not give them control of the navigation of the river."

The situation was somewhat Gilbertian; perhaps Mr. Douglas-as-Governor generously gave Mr. Douglas-as-Factor the benefit of any doubt there might have been on the subject. At all events while the two offices were combined in one person there was no effective legal check on the actions of the Company. Lawful or otherwise, it made agreements with the steamships of great advantage to itself. Only "Company" goods were to be carried, or such goods as it might permit to be carried; freight rates for "Company" goods were fixed at about half the rate paid by other traders; no passengers

might be taken unless they had taken out a mining license costing five dollars per month; two dollars head-money must be paid to the Company for each passenger; all vessels should be owned and commanded by British subjects. The requirement as to nationality was a dead letter; it was probably included so that it might be used if it should serve the purpose of the Company to enforce it. The provision requiring all passengers to have a mining license was particularly irksome, as many used the boats who did not intend to mine. In addition to these charges the Port Collector took twelve dollars a trip for the necessary sufferance. Evasion was not easy, for a ship under command of a lieutenant of the British navy was stationed at the mouth of the river to enforce payment. No distinction was made here between "Company" and government taxes.

"If the passengers were so unfortunate as not to have means to pay mining license, head-money, and sufferance tax, their watches, pistols, knives, or other personal effects were held in pledge for payment. In the absence of such personal effects, bags of flour, beans and coffee, hams, and other provisions were retained, and I have been assured that the deck of the brig was covered with those articles."¹¹

It is pleasant to note that the disagreeable duty was not carried out in a harsh spirit. Mr. Nugent tells us:

"It is but just to add that the officers immediately charged with the performance of this unpleasant service acted with all gentleness and humanity compatible with their orders, and that they endeavored, by every means in their power, to mitigate the rigor of these amerce-ments."

There remained another impost: to license fee, head-tax, and sufferance tax was added an import duty of ten per cent. Did this go to the government or to the Company? In answering this question it must be remembered that there was no organized government of the mainland of British North America other than that exercised by the Company as an incidental accompaniment of its trading operations. As the Company

was not in a position to undertake the more complicated task of government under gold-rush conditions, Mr. Douglas, as Governor of Vancouver's Island, took it upon him to assume responsibility pending instructions from his home government. There was, of course, no legislating body for the territory in which the mines were located, and it might seem not unnatural for the Governor to impose a duty on imports on his own responsibility. But did Mr. Douglas collect the tax in his capacity as governor or in his capacity as factor? Mr. Nugent reports that the Company collected through its financial agent, Mr. Finlayson, "and not by the collector of the port." In support of his statement that the Company were the beneficiaries, he offers a copy of a permit to enter certain goods for the United States Boundary Commission free of duty. It was signed by Finlayson of the Hudson's Bay Company.

An interpretation of the trading rights of the Company as giving power to levy import duties would not have been so easy to the Governor perhaps, if he had not been so intimately related to the Factor. On the face of it, this seems to have been an unusually extreme case of nepotism! Power of office was not merely kept in the family, but under the same hat. That feelings between the Americans and the British were strained is not to be wondered at when the almost omnipotent Company represented Great Britain.

It was not only in levying taxes that the power of the Company was made oppressive; it was charged that government officials, and even the justices, were unduly swayed by national prejudice. Under the peculiar conditions prevailing, much responsibility rested on officers of the government acting at a distance from the capital. It was charged that Americans, after having spent much money in obtaining a necessary flow of water for mining operations, were unjustly deprived of their water rights in favor of some concern in which the official had been given an interest. At the outlying posts of the Company very often the only persons capable of administering law were

the servants of the Company, and it must have been exasperating to a foreigner not too welcome to begin with, and with a chronic grievance against the well-nigh almighty monopoly, to find himself assailed by someone who was not only an official of the Company but a magistrate into the bargain. What hope of justice was there? Furthermore, at Victoria, whose population at this time was overwhelmingly American, only those of British nationality could plead in the courts. Now there was a sad dearth of English lawyers, but a good supply of American. They might do all for a client short of conducting the case in court, but into the sacred precincts they might not come—at least to function professionally.

There were more serious charges than those concerning heavy taxes, corruption of officers, and denial of civil rights—charges involving relations with the Indians. The Indians of the territory were generally warlike. The nature of the Company's business led the officers of the Company to make friends of the natives, for there could be no trade without confidence. The traders were successful in establishing that confidence, and, without doubt, became very skilful in managing their savage neighbors. There is much to admire in the way these British pioneers treated the Indians. The methods were the result of a shrewd blend of sternness and kindness. Good feeling must be preserved, or there would be an end to the supply of furs, and, a still more serious matter, life would be in jeopardy every hour. The "big stick" was always within reach, however, in the form of strict punishment, according to the law, for all infringements, with a strict search for offenders no matter what trouble it involved. Or it might be in the form of a demonstration of the power of the white man's weapons, as in the case in which a few shots from the cannon on the fort at Victoria destroyed a number of Indian huts from which the women and children (the men being at the fort) had been carefully removed. This demonstration was immensely impressive. By such methods "Company" servants had real

influence with the Indians, and the Indians gave those servants respect and confidence, mingled though it was with fear.

At least the native was at peace with the British as he was not with the Americans. The settler was after his land; he knew it was to the interest of the cultivator to crowd him out of his hunting-grounds, and if in the process it meant his extermination he felt instinctively that these land-hungry farmers would not stop short. To these American home-makers the Indian was a natural enemy; "the only good Indian is a dead Indian." Right or wrong, the spirit between the native and the Americans could never be the same as that between the native and the British. Hostility was inherent in the situation, however much it might be mitigated by such feelings of humanity as managed to survive in that atmosphere, or however softened by the influence of the missionaries. Unlike the servants of the Company the American farmers were on terms of more or less constant enmity with the uncivilized native.

This difference in attitude made it more difficult then ever for Americans and British to understand each other; to the British the Americans seemed cruel and bloodthirsty, while to the Americans it looked as if the British were sometimes unnaturally neutral in the deadly feud between the red men and themselves. There were occasions when Americans were glad to have the protection of the Company, generously extended. At other times much needed supplies of ammunition were forthcoming from fellow whites for which the Americans were duly grateful. But it is alleged in Mr. Nugent's report, on the basis of testimony offered to him by military officers and others, that the Company was purchasing American equipment captured by the Indians, thus providing a market for stolen goods, and also that it was selling firearms and ammunition to the Indians at a time when these were more than likely to be used against the Americans.¹¹ Again, it is stated that "Company" agents went so far as to incite the redskins against the Amer-

¹¹ Ex. Doc. No. 111, 35th Cong. 2 Sess. p. 8.

icans by misrepresenting the motives with which the Americans came into the gold region. Says the report:

"Among the Hudson's Bay Company's people, there are some gentlemen of high character and respectability. Mr. McKay, Mr. McTavish, Mr. McLean, and the agent at Fort Yale, whose name I forget, have exhibited marked courtesy and kindness towards Americans; but that my strictures upon the generality of the subordinate officers, to whom they were intended to apply, were not too severe will be admitted, when I state on the authority of Colonel Snowden, a citizen of Yuba county, in California, that he learned from several Indian chiefs, that they and their people were led to believe by the representations of the Hudson's Bay Company's servants, that the Americans were coming there to rob them of their cattle, of their food, and their squaws, and were advised by those same evil-minded individuals to commence a war of extermination against our citizens."¹²

On the competency of Colonel Snowden as a witness I cannot pass judgment, nor on that of the Indians quoted; consequently, I cannot say how much this evidence may be worth. So grave a charge can only be admitted on the most conclusive evidence. The most convincing thing about it is that it states the logic of the situation, though it is to be hoped that there was no actual incitement. Past question, however, the opposed views regarding the Indian made understanding on this subject between the two white peoples almost impossible.

It will be seen from what has been said that the quarrel with the Americans was against the Hudson's Bay Company much more than against the British people. My last quotation from Mr. Nugent's interesting document will be on this point.

"From all these petty exactions and oppressions, these denials of justice and evidences of rampant prejudice, the conclusion is irresistible that whatever may have been the disposition of the British Government, the feeling of the Colonial officials and of the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company was aught but friendly toward our people . . . I would here remark that from the

¹² Ibid. p. 14.

officers of the navy stationed near Victoria, and from the English gentlemen residing on Vancouver's Island, the Americans received naught but courtesy, kindness and attention, from first to last; and by none have I heard the acts of the Hudson's Bay Company's servants more strongly censured than by subjects of Great Britain who have long resided on the island, and who are cognizant of the many abuses practiced by the Company and its agents."

The British people had small cause to take the Company's side; they had their own serious grievances against it.

It has seemed necessary to dwell upon these things in order to understand the highly charged atmosphere in which the dispute over San Juan in 1859 almost brought about serious bloodshed.

SAN JUAN ISLAND

I have already said that the long boundary dispute over the Oregon country was settled in 1846 by a treaty which continued the boundary along the forty-ninth parallel "to the middle of the channel which separated the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean." But "the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island" (the Gulf of Georgia) is studded with islands, through which there is more than one navigable passage. Two played prominent parts in the dispute: the Canal de Haro, the most westerly, running for the most part along the coast of Vancouver's Island; and the Rosario Strait, the most easterly, running between the islands and the mainland. The important point was that if the Canal de Haro were the boundary the islands would be American, and if the line ran through Rosario Strait they would be British. The islands involved were San Juan, Orcas, Lopez, Waldron, Blakely, Decatur, Shaw, and some smaller ones; in all an area of about one hundred and seventy square miles.¹³ San Juan, the most considerable, con-

¹³ *British Columbia* by F. H. Howay and E. O. G. Scholefield. p. 301.

tained about 50,000 acres and was supposed to be of great strategic importance.

"It is fourteen miles long by four and a half in width. Its superficial area is fifty-four square miles; it is eighteen miles from Victoria; the capital of Columbia, and is six and three-quarter miles from the shore of Vancouver Island."

says an official Canadian report of 1872.¹⁴

The Indians had it to themselves until 1850 when the Hudson's Bay Company established a salmon-packing plant. In 1852 the Oregon Legislature, assuming that the intention of the Treaty of 1846 had been merely to assure to Great Britain Vancouver's Island and that the islands in the channel were American territories, included San Juan in Island County, and the following year it became part of the newly-formed Washington Territory. Subsequently, in 1854, it was included in Whatcom County. It was in 1853 that the first steps were taken toward actual occupation when from the British side the steamer "Beaver" landed a flock of thirteen hundred sheep for the Hudson's Bay Company.¹⁵ The accepted version on the American side was that this was done in order to establish a settlement claim to support British diplomacy in the contention over possession—not a preposterous assumption. Mr. J. M. Ebey, Collector of Customs for the Puget Sound at this time, in fulfillment of the duties of his office, warned Governor-and-Factor Douglas that the sheep were liable to seizure for having been landed without payment of duty. In reply Douglas declared that the island was British territory, and forthwith appointed Mr. Charles J. Griffin, the clerk in charge of the sheep, as magistrate. Having no force at his disposal, Ebey could only protest against this and arrange for an account to be kept of all goods so that duty might be demanded at some more favorable time. Mr. Webber was appointed inspector of customs and left on the island. Now, Captain Sangster was collector of customs for Vancouver Island and, by the same

¹⁴ *Report* of the Hon H. L. Langevin, C. B., Minister of Public Works, Ottawa, 1872.

¹⁵ For the story of the San Juan Controversy see H. H. Bancroft's "*History of British Columbia*" 1792-1887, Chap. 31. Also Howay and Scholefield's *British Columbia*, Chaps. 5 and 6.

token, for its dependency San Juan, if the British claim could be made good. He obtained a warrant against Webber for calling himself a custom-house officer, and proceeded to serve it. Webber resisted and threatened "to shoot the first man who interfered with him in the possession of his rightful liberty, saying, first, that he had committed no crime; and, secondly, that he was on American soil, and would not recognize their right to issue any process against him."¹⁶ The incident closed without the arrest being effected. Webber kept the warrant as evidence and stayed on the island for a year when he was forced to leave by hostile Indians. It is illustrative of the attitude of the Indians that Webber found safety at the Hudson's Bay house on several occasions.

"He (Mr. Webber) was succeeded in office by Oscar Olney, who left from the same reason after a few months, and he in turn by the present inspector, Paul K. Hubbs, Jr., all of whom have, at different times, been compelled, temporarily, to avail themselves of the protection of Mr. Griffin, the Hudson's Bay Company's agent, and which, in justice to him, I must say was always freely accorded."¹⁷

The reason why the Americans had not settled on this island, so desirable agriculturally, was that the natives from the north were wont periodically to make raids.

Being part of Whatcom County, Washington Territory, San Juan was, of course, assessed for taxes in 1854. In consequence of non-payment by the Company, the sheriff, Ellis Barnes, seized some sheep (over thirty of them) and sold them to the highest bidder. This was a challenge Douglas could scarcely evade, even if he wished to, and he wrote on the 26th of April, 1855, as Governor of Vancouver Island to Governor Stevens of Washington Territory¹⁸ complaining in somewhat legal phraseology that there had been demanded from

"Mr. Charles Griffin, a British subject," by "an armed party of American citizens ostensibly acting under the direction of a person named Barnes, who styles himself Sheriff of Whatcomb County . . . certain monies in payment of Taxes, on behalf of and in the name of the United

¹⁶ Ex. Doc. No. 77, 36th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 2.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 3.

¹⁸ See Douglas' letter and Stevens' reply in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 2, ps. 352-3.

States of America, a demand which as a British subject, acknowledging no authority except that emanating from his own government . . . refuses to pay."

We may infer that the incident was not without some passion when we read further:

"Mr. Barnes and his followers during Mr. Griffin's absence, and while his servants were, with one or two exceptions, dispersed at their several occupations did abstract a number of valuable sheep, which they put into boats, and were about to depart with the same when Mr. Griffin returned and demanding restitution of his property was menaced with violence and put in danger of his life."

Mr. Douglas thinks it would be a great injustice to assume that the authority 'to levy Taxes on British subjects residing on the Island of San Juan' had been given by Governor Stevens; it would "prove an ungracious requital for the kindness with which you generously vindicated, at Washington, the cause of truth and justice when a groundless charge was brought against the character of this Government." He hopes the Governor will prevent such acts in the future as they "must ultimately lead to dissension and bloodshed." He claims sovereignty for Great Britain:

"The Island of San Juan has been in the possession of British subjects for many years, and it is with the other Islands of the Archipelago de Arro declared to be within the Jurisdiction, of this colony, and under the protection of British Laws. I have also the orders of Her Majesty's Ministers to treat those Islands as part of the British Dominions."

Nevertheless there seemed to be some doubt, for he adds:

"Wisdom and sound policy enjoin upon us the part of leaving the question to the decision of the Supreme Governments, and of abstaining from enforcing rights, which neither party is disposed to acknowledge."

Dissension would "be productive of the most serious evils," as "both countries will suffer from the absence of that wholesome control which now holds the native Indian Tribes in check." Despite the claim to absolute sovereignty he proceeds:

"This Government will be responsible for the acts of British Subjects and punish all offences committed by such on the Arro Islands, and I trust your Excellency is disposed to exercise the same vigorous control in that quarter over the conduct of citizens of the United States."

It is to be remarked that the Hudson's Bay Company is not once mentioned in this letter. Mr. Griffin, the aggrieved British subject, however, was Mr. Douglas' subordinate in the employ of that Company, and the property seized belonged to the Company and not to Mr. Griffin. It was apparently considered easier to appeal on behalf of a certain British citizen named Griffin than on behalf of a Company already, rightly or wrongly, in bad odour. "The Island of San Juan has been in the possession of British Subjects for many years," pleads the Governor-Factor. In actual possession not so very many after all. It was only on the 13th of December, 1853, that the sheep were landed, an event which represents the first actual settlement, and the letter was written on April 26, 1855, about sixteen months after. It is not known that any use whatever was made of the island before 1850, when the Company began to use it for a few weeks, or perhaps a few months, during the year. On the matter of sovereignty the instructions were quite clear. In September, 1854, presumably after the Sankster-Webber incident already related, Douglas received the following direct from the Foreign Office in London:

"In conveying to you the approval of Her Majesty's Government of your proceedings with respect to the sovereignty of the Islands in the Canal de Arro, I have to authorize you to continue to treat these Islands as part of the British Dominions."¹⁹

It did not go through the Colonial Office which would have been the more usual route. Is it a possible explanation that the Hudson's Bay Company in London had more influence at the Foreign Office than at the Colonial Office?

The reply of Governor Stevens left no room for doubt as to his attitude. San Juan was United States territory, and the

¹⁹ *Hudson's Bay Company correspondence*. Copy consulted at the British Columbia Archives, Victoria, B. C.

sheriff had acted according to the general laws relating to the duties of his office. "The ownership remains now as it did at the execution of the treaty of June 15, 1846, and can in no wise be affected by the alleged possession of British subjects." After some arguments in support of his position he concludes:

"I shall take the earliest opportunity to send a copy of your communication and of this reply to the secretary of state of the United States, and in the meantime I have to reciprocate most earnestly your hope that nothing may occur to interrupt the harmony and good feeling which should characterize the relations of neighboring states."

In referring the matter to Washington, Governor Stevens made it an international question. The Company, also deciding to make it a question of diplomacy, presented a claim for nearly \$15,000 (£2,990-13s) to the State Department through the British Minister. The upshot was that Mr. W. L. Marcy, the Secretary of State, wrote to Stevens on July 14, 1855, and to the British Minister, Mr. John F. Crompton, on July 17, defining the position as it was then understood. As this point in the history of the question is important (it is the point at which is fixed the status that was disturbed about four years later as I shall relate), the communications had better be given rather fully. To Governor Stevens Mr. Marcy said:

"He (President Franklin Pierce) has instructed me to say to you that the officers of the Territory should abstain from all acts on the disputed grounds which are calculated to provoke any conflicts, so far as it can be done without implying the concession to the authority of Great Britain of an exclusive right over the premises.

"The title ought to be settled before either party should exclude the other by force, or exercise complete and exclusive sovereign rights within the fairly disputed limits. Application will be made to the British government to interpose with the local authorities on the northern borders of our territory to abstain from like acts of exclusive ownership, with the explicit understanding that any forbearance on either side to assert the rights, respectively,

shall not be construed into any concession to the adverse party.

"By a conciliatory and moderate course on both sides, it is sincerely hoped that all difficulties will be avoided until an adjustment of the boundary line can be made in a manner mutually satisfactory. The government of the United States will do what it can to have the line established at an early period."²⁰

The note to Mr. Crompton said:

"I am under some apprehension that collision may take place between our citizens and British subjects in regard to the occupation of the disputed points along the line between Washington Territory and the British possessions on the north of it.

"In the hope of avoiding such a difficulty, I have, by the direction of the President, addressed a letter to the governor of that Territory on the subject, and herewith furnish you with an extract from it. I presume that the government of her Britannic Majesty will be willing to recommend to her subjects along the boundary in question a similar course until the line can be established. In that way I sincerely hope all collision may be avoided."²¹

That Governor Douglas was advised is evident from his reference to the subject in writing to General W. S. Harney on August 13, 1859. He says:

"With reference to San Juan, in particular, I have always acted with the utmost caution to prevent, so far as might lie in my power, any ill feeling arising from collisions between British subjects and American citizens, and have in that respect cordially endeavored to carry out the views of the United States government as expressed in a despatch from Mr. Marcy, dated 17 July, 1855, to Her Majesty's minister at Washington, a copy of which I herewith enclose for your information, as I presume that the document cannot be in your possession."²²

It would seem, then, as if no trouble could possibly arise. Clear and unmistakable instructions are issued (and apparently accepted in all good faith) to the responsible officials of both

²⁰ Ex. Doc. No. 65, 36th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 6.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

nations. Steps were taken in August, 1856 to determine finally the boundary when an act was passed appointing a commissioner and a surveyor to serve with the British commission. Archibald Campbell was the commissioner, and Lieutenant John G. Parke was chief astronomer and surveyor. The British commissioners were Captain James C. Prevost, R. N. and Captain Henry Richards R. D. Campbell and Parke joined their colleagues at Victoria on June 22, 1857. Pending the final disposition, the inspector of customs took account of goods landed, and the county continued to assess for taxes. The arrangement looked about as trouble-proof as it could be made, but we are to see how, in spite of it, trouble did occur.

THE CRISIS OF 1859.

1. GENERAL HARNEY'S VIGOROUS ACTION.

Without warning to the British authorities, Captain George Pickett (in a few years to achieve fame at Gettysburg) commanding Company D, 9th Infantry, landed with his men on San Juan July 27, 1859,—and the fat was in the fire. In occupying the island in this way he was acting under orders from General W. S. Harney, who, in October, 1858, had taken up the command of the new Department of Oregon. General Harney's military experience had been mainly that of suppressing Indians; he came to Oregon from Utah where he had shown great prowess in this type of warfare. Acting Assistant Adjutant Pleasanton, in transmitting the General's orders to the Captain, stated the reasons for the step:

"The General commanding instructs me to say the object to be attained in placing you thus is two-fold, viz.: First. To protect the inhabitants of the island from the incursions of the northern Indians of British Columbia and the Russian possessions . . . Secondly. Another serious and important duty will devolve upon you in the occupation of San Juan Island, arising from the conflicting interests of the American citizens and the Hudson's

Bay Company establishment at that point. This duty is to afford adequate protection to the American citizens in their rights as such, and to resist all attempts at interference by the British authorities residing on Vancouver's Island, by intimidation or force, in the controversies of the above-mentioned parties."

A sufficiently uncompromising order. "Resist"—no limit stated—"all attempts at interference"—no exceptions apparently contemplated.

The gallant captain was as thorough-going as his commander, and caused the following unequivocal order to be posted by Second Lieutenant James W. Forsyth, his post adjutant:

"1st. In compliance with orders and instructions from the commanding general, a military post will be established on this island, on whatever site the commanding officer may select; 2nd. All the inhabitants of the island are requested to report at once to the commanding officer in case of any incursion by the northern Indians, so that he may take such steps as he may deem necessary to prevent any further occurrence of the same; 3rd. This being United States territory, no laws other than those of the United States, nor courts except such as are held by virtue of said laws will be recognized or allowed on this island. By order of Captain Pickett."²³

In a despatch dated August 6 General Harney supported Captain Pickett in this attitude and said expressly:

"The general approves the course you have pursued, and further directs that no joint occupation or any civil jurisdiction will be permitted on San Juan Island by the British authorities under any circumstances."²⁴

To state it mildly, this was not the language of 1855; it brought about a new situation.

Some events that took place in 1859 and before, leading up to Pickett's action, should be related.

The commissioners met with difficulties that delayed the work of determining the line, while the Americans wishing to settle on San Juan were getting more and more impatient. We said that the labors of the commission began in 1857. The

²³ I quote from H. H. Bancroft's *History of British Columbia 1792-1887*, p. 618.

²⁴ Ex. Doc. No. 65, 36th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 23.

following year saw the gold-rush, which had so momentous an effect. One result was that disappointed miners drifted back to Victoria and eventually over to the American side in search of new opportunities. Many of these men were American, but in any case the land policy of the Hudson's Bay Company made settlement in British territory almost impossible. The attractions of San Juan were stronger than fear of Indians and doubt of status, and a number of the returning miners squatted, according to the Company, pre-empted according to the Americans, on the island.²⁵ The extent of occupation can be judged from a report by Mr. Henry R. Crosbie, an American magistrate who took part in some of the proceedings connected with the dispute. On May 20, 1859, the Company had

"4,500 sheep, 40 head of cattle, five yoke of oxen, 35 horses, and 40 hogs on the island . . . with about 80 acres fenced and under cultivation, sowed principally with oats, peas, and potatoes. There were attached to the Hudson's Bay Company station, besides Mr. Griffin, eighteen servants, three only of whom were white, and those three were naturalized American citizens, and exercised their rights as such at the territorial election held on the second Monday in July last, at which time there were twenty-nine actual settlers on the island."²⁶

The Hudson's Bay men were a motley crew, some of them South Sea Islanders.

Among the American settlers was Lyman A. Cutler, another "embattled farmer," who, as I shall tell, "fired the shot heard" throughout the North Pacific Coast region, the echoes of which were heard far off. In a sworn statement Cutler relates that in April of 1859 "he located on one hundred and sixty acres of land, agreeably to the pre-emption law." This, of course, was presuming that the sovereignty would be awarded to the United States. If San Juan eventually went to Great Britain, accounts as to title would have to be settled with the Hudson's Bay Company or with the Government of British Columbia; and the prospect could hardly be satisfac-

²⁵ See narrative of Charles McKay in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* Vol. 2, pp. 290-293.

²⁶ Ex. Doc. No. 77, 36th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 3.

tory for the farmer. Cutler put in some potatoes, and, as supplies had mostly to be procured from Victoria by row-boat, they had more than ordinary value. Not far off was the Company's establishment, with its accompaniment of live-stock roaming pretty much at large. One of the hogs, having done some damage to the potatoes, was shot by Cutler. His explanation was that he did it under an impulse of irritation. In any case he went to Mr. Griffin (the Company's agent) and offered to pay any reasonable sum that might be asked. Mr. Griffin angrily demanded one hundred dollars which Cutler would not pay. That same day, "Mr. Dallas, one of the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company," and two other gentlemen, along with Mr. Griffin, came to Cutler's house (their visit had nothing to do with the pig incident originally), and after some verbal wrangling,

"Mr. Dallas . . . stated this was British soil, and if he, Cutler did not make the reparation demanded—one hundred dollars—he would take him to Victoria; their steamer [the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer *Beaver*] was in port, and they had a posse at their command."

The deposition says farther that "their manner and language were both insulting and threatening."²⁷

This incident affords the reason for the occupation so far as it (the occupation) does not refer to defence against the Indians. A somewhat different account of it is given by other witnesses.

Apparently as the result of this encounter a magistrate was appointed by the British authorities to reside on the island. Mr. John F. De Courcy was commissioned Justice of the Peace, and took up his duties almost at the exact time at which Pickett landed his forces. In considering the question of who was responsible for disturbing the status of 1855, it would be well to note that the instructions issued to Mr. De Courcy by the Colonial Secretary for Vancouver Island, Mr. William A. G. Young, were dated July 27—the day of Pickett's landing. The policy outlined was determined, and the instructions issued,

²⁷ *Cutler's deposition* is given in Ex. Doc. No. 65, 36th Cong., 1st Sess. p. 53.

before the occupation was known in Victoria. Said Colonial Secretary Young:

"The Island of San Juan having been, and being still, considered and treated as part of Her Majesty's Dominions, you will warn off all persons who may attempt to assert any rights of occupation as against the British Dominion in the Island of Juan."²⁸

The good Justice might "warn off" but he was told:

"You must in particular be most careful to avoid giving any occasion that might lead to acts of violence."²⁹

On July 4, 1859, the Americans on the island celebrated Independence Day according to custom. As an important part of the proceedings the Stars and Stripes were hoisted, and the flag remained for several days, so that when General Harney visited San Juan on July 9, on a tour of inspection, it was still flying. The occasion of the visit was fully improved by the settlers in stating their case to the General, both with respect to the Indians and to the Company. As to the Indians, Mr. Crosbie says³⁰ that the American settlers had petitioned as early as May for protection. They asked General Harney

"to give them a small force, say a detachment of twenty men, something that would give them a feeling of security, as continued apprehension was equally as bad as actual danger: it had prevented the settlement of San Juan and the adjoining isolated islands for years."

Murders were being committed, and instead of the occasional visitation of troops the farmers asked for permanent protection, their idea being, "Say a small detachment of twenty men." On July 18 General Harney ordered Captain Pickett to land with his company of sixty men, and Colonel Casey to be ready nearby with another company in the steamer "Massachusetts." The General ordered that in the selection of a position Captain Pickett was to "take into consideration that future contingencies may require an establishment of from four to six companies retaining the command of San Juan harbor." It is not likely that he was thinking of Indians when he wrote

²⁸ *British Admiralty dispatches*. Copies consulted at British Columbia Archives, Victoria, B. C.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Ex. Doc. No. 77, 36th Cong., 1st Sess. p. 4.

that. Governor Douglas displayed the expected belligerency and eventually four hundred and sixty-one soldiers landed with howitzers and fifty tons of ammunition. The story of the disembarkation of the re-inforcements under Colonel Casey almost beneath the noses of the British ships of war is an exciting one. It will be noted that the American occupation was purely military, whereas the British attempt had been civil in character. It happened, however, that a magistrate of Whatcom County, Mr. Henry R. Crosbie, paid a visit to San Juan on July 29, as he says,

“finding there was an English official claiming to be the civil authority of the island, I remained as such [that is as magistrate] on the part of the United States.”

From that point, then, the American occupation was both military and civil, with the military predominating.

2. GOVERNOR DOUGLAS' BELLIGERENT RESPONSE.

The agent of the Company, Mr. Griffin, on Pickett's landing, protested that the island was the property of Hudson's Bay Company, and that if the occupation on the part of Pickett did not cease he would “feel bound to apply to the civil authorities.” The Captain replied that he was there by order of his government and would “remain till recalled by the same authority.” On the following day reinforcements began to move from Steilacoom.

By July 29th the great news had reached Victoria. The excitement was intense. Douglas called on the Senior Naval Officer of Vancouver Island, Captain Michael De Courcy, “in the name of the Queen” to assist him in this crisis. “I beg,” he says, “you will *immediately* despatch a powerful vessel of war to San Juan, and instruct the officer in command to prevent the landing of any further armed parties of United States soldiers for purposes of occupation, and also the erection of

fortifications of any description by the party already on the island." In a further note he explained that the civil power would deal with the party already landed; that power would if necessary call "upon all subjects of Her Majesty, civil, military, or naval, to render him assistance as may enable him to carry out the law." Not yet satisfied that all had been done that was necessary, on the 30th he requested that "another powerful vessel of war" be sent, "so as happily by the show of an overwhelming force to prevent the probability of any resistance being shown to the actions of the law, and the consequent prospect of bloodshed."

Ships began to arrive. On the 30th Captain Pickett did not feel comfortable, "lying within range of a couple of war steamers." The "Tribune" was a thirty-gun frigate and lay broadside to the camp. On August 3 he reports to the General that "the British ships the 'Tribune', the 'Plumper' and the 'Satellite' are lying here in a menacing attitude." But the guns were silent. Pickett stated the case correctly: "They have a force so much superior to mine that it will be merely a mouthful for them." Yet, despite the orders of the Governor, no advantage was taken of the superiority of power even when fortifications were erected and reinforcements were landed. Captain De Courcy was a moderating influence on the bellicose Douglas; he urged that the right to the island was still in dispute, and declared that he

"considered it highly essential to do everything possible to prevent a collision with the United States forces, and not disturb the amicable relations existing between the two countries, more particularly at the present time, when it was not improbable that Great Britain might be involved in the war raging in Europe."

It will be recalled that this was the time of the Italian war of liberation from Austria.

It was to be expected that the British authorities would issue some such proclamation as that of Governor Douglas dated August 2, in which he "formally and solemnly" pro-

tested against the occupation, and declared that the sovereignty of the island "now is and always has been, in Her Majesty Queen Victoria and her predecessors, Kings of Great Britain." This pronouncement is purely formal, and harmless enough; it only makes clear that the long-standing claim is not to be considered prejudiced by the circumstances of the new situation. On August 3 in his message to the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of the Colony of Vancouver's Island the Governor quite properly harked back to the note of Mr. Marcy written in 1855, and declared he could only conclude that, the commission not yet having completed its work, that General Harney was acting without authority from his government. Quite in the spirit of Mr. Marcy the Governor says:

"Convinced that any assumption, on either side, of exclusive right to the disputed territory would simply be a fruitless and mischievous waste of energy, neither detracting from nor adding to the claims of either nation, wise and considerate policy enjoins upon us the part of leaving so important a national question for settlement by the proper authorities, and of avoiding complications foreign to the views and wishes of and probably embarrassing to both governments."

The tone of this does not harmonize with that of the instructions to, and conversation with, the naval authorities, and even this moderate message promises that the detachment of royal engineers and royal marine light infantry ordered from New Westminster by her Majesty's ship "Plumper" will be landed at San Juan "to protect the lives and property of British subjects."

There was great activity on August 3 at San Juan. Captain Hornby of the "Tribune" requested by letter that Captain Pickett would confer with him on the ship, but for some reason or other the request was refused. Captain Pickett had no objection to meeting Captain Hornby at the camp, however, and Captain Hornby seemingly did not consider his

dignity in jeopardy by making the visit. Captain Hornby thought joint military occupation would equalize the positions of the respective powers, and offered this plan. General Harney subsequently refused it, and on the same day, August 6, sent a reply to Douglas' proclamation in which a somewhat garbled account of the alleged attempted arrest of an American citizen is made the reason for the occupation. Nothing about Indians this time. The letter makes one thing clear—the General is not acting on special orders from his government.

“As military commander of the department of Oregon, assigned to that command by the orders of the President of the United States, I have the honor to state, for your information, that by such authority invested in me I placed a military command upon the island of San Juan to protect the American citizens residing on that island from the insults and indignities which the British authorities of Vancouver's Island and the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company recently offered them.”

Leaving nothing to chance, the next day the General sent a request for a ship to the Senior Naval Officer on the Pacific, at San Francisco. On the day following that, Colonel Casey was authorized to reinforce with four companies of soldiers.

THE ADVENT OF ADMIRAL BAYNES.

About this time there arrived on the scene a bluff and hearty old salt in the person of Rear-Admiral R. L. Baynes, Commander in Chief of the British naval forces in the Pacific, who supplied the necessary commonsense. He refused to go to war over the shooting of a pig. When told of Douglas' orders he exploded with “Tut, tut! no, no! the damned fools!”³¹ I do not know how the authority was distributed between Douglas and Baynes; the Admiral avoids the tone of positive authority in addressing Douglas. He was for avoiding a clash, feeling that the ultimate question of sovereignty, after all, could be settled only by the two governments. He told the Governor that he did not think that the United States officers

would "molest, or allow to be molested, the few British subjects on the island," and continues in this strain:

"Wherever your Excellency may, from circumstances, feel yourself called on to take active measures on the point in question, I trust they may be such as I can cordially concur in. I feel confident that a joint military occupation would complicate the boundary question still more, by evils that would result from it. I will therefore conclude by trusting that your Excellency has modified your views on this subject, as it would be painful to me in the extreme to find that I could not act in accordance with your views."

This was written the day after an excited debate in the House of Assembly, during which it had been angrily demanded:

"Why were the troops not landed according to promise?"

The Speaker of the House complained:

"His Excellency sends troops and ships. Why all this expense and show, if for parade? Why were not the troops landed? Instead of fighting, her Majesty's Captains take to diplomacy . . . They should have landed their troops and avoided all degrading negotiations. But more troops have landed, in spite of post captains and admirals. Yes, a militia must be raised. We must defend ourselves, for the position we occupy today would make the iron statue of Wellington weep, and the strong statue of Nelson bend his brow."³²

But the breezy old Admiral did not see it that way; four days after the outburst in the House, and three days after his diplomatic rebuke of Douglas, he wrote very positively to Captain Hornby. "It is now my positive order," he said, "that you do not *on any account whatever* take the initiative in commencing hostilities by firing on them, or on any work they may have thrown up."³³ This "plain, little, big-hearted, unassuming, lowland Scotchman, lame, but full of salt and fresh fun"³⁴ brought cool sea breezes into the super-heated atmosphere. Through him actual hostilities were definitely prevented.

³¹ See the Angus McDonald Memoirs printed in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 8, p. 195.

³² *British Colonist*, Victoria, August 17th, 1859.

³³ *Admiralty Dispatches*.

³⁴ Angus McDonald, Chief Trader at Fort Colville 1852-1872. See *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 8, p. 195.

On the American side Coloney Casey displayed a more moderate spirit than his general, or than Captain Pickett. In reporting to General Winfield Scott, General Harney related the story of Pickett's adventures in a way that shows the General's turn for heroics:

"The senior officer of three ships-of-war threatened to land an overpowering force upon Captain Pickett, who nobly replied that whether they landed fifty or five thousand men, his conduct would not be affected by it; that he would open his fire, and, if compelled, take to the woods fighting."³⁵

Though brave and capable, Colonel Casey does not seem to have had the lust for martyrdom; he sought rather to reach an agreement with the foe. He visited the harbor of Esquimalt on August 11 and there tried to come face to face with Admiral Baynes for conference. Only what seems to the layman an unimportant point of etiquette prevented—Baynes would not go to Casey on the "Shubrick," nor would Casey go to Baynes on the "Ganges." General Harney expressed regrets that this visit had been made, and pushed along war-like preparations, taking up the matter of war supplies with Governor Gholson of Washington Territory.

WASHINGTON INTERVENES AND SCOTT ARRIVES.

British sanity bore upon the situation from the great spaces of the Pacific; American wisdom came from the east. When despatches from the west reached Washington, negotiations had reached the point where Lord Lyons (British Minister) was proposing the middle passage as a compromise. The news of the occupation was a shock. Acting Secretary of War Drinkard wrote to Harney: "The President was not prepared to learn that you had ordered military possession to be taken of the Island of San Juan." If Harney had reason to think that the British authorities were about to disturb status, then he was right to anticipate them. The President was especially anxious to know if he had consulted with Commissioner Camp-

³⁵ Ex. Doc. No. 65, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 28.

bell before acting. (He had not done so.) It should be made clear to the British authorities that the action was not an attempt to pre-judge the question of sovereignty.

It was decided that Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, Commander-in-Chief, be sent "to assume the immediate command, if necessary, of the United States forces on the Pacific Coast." This act in itself showed that the issues involved were very important; also that the government was not satisfied that Harney was equal to the occasion. The attitude of Washington was correct in every particular, and the instructions given Scott show a wide difference between the view of Harney and that of the President. Much, of course, must be left to the discretion of Scott as he would have much fuller knowledge when on the spot than the government could possibly have.

"His (the President's) main object is to preserve the peace and prevent collision between the British and American authorities on the island until the question of title can be adjusted by the two governments . . . The President perceives no objection to the plan proposed by Captain Hornby, of her Majesty's ship "Tribune," to Captain Pickett; it being understood that Captain Pickett's company shall remain on the island to resist, if need be, the incursions of northern Indians on our frontier settlements, and to afford protection to American residents thereon."³⁶ (It will be recalled that Hornby's proposal was to institute a joint military occupation. This had been refused by Harney.)

If hostilities should have broken out before Scott arrived?

"In that event, it would still be your duty, if this can, in your opinion, be honorably done, under the surrounding circumstances, to establish a temporary joint occupation of the island, giving to neither party any advantage over the other. It would be a shocking event if the two nations should be precipitated into a war respecting the possession of a small island, and that only for the brief period during which the two governments may be peacefully employed in settling the question to which of them the island belongs."

³⁶ Ibid, p. 27.

But if the British, because of their superiority of available resources, shall have actually seized San Juan? This was looked at as a possible but not a probable event; but

“if we must be forced into a war by the violence of the British authorities, which is not anticipated, we shall abide the issue as best we may without apprehension as to the result.”³⁷

Thanks to Admiral Baynes, no blood had been shed, and General Scott had no serious trouble in carrying out his purpose. Joint military occupation was in due course proposed to Governor Douglas, but the Governor countered with a plan to withdraw the soldiers and have joint civil occupation. The menace of Indians seemed sufficient reason to General Scott for maintaining some forces on the island, and Douglas, after the General had refused civil occupation, submitted the suggestion of joint military occupation to his government. On November 3 Douglas wrote to Scott:

“Should you, sir, after the explanations I have herein given in reference to my official powers and position, proceed to carry out your pacific mission,—and divest the large military force now on San Juan of its menacing attitude by removing it from the island, we will instantly withdraw the British naval force now maintained there; and as soon as I receive the instructions of my government, I shall be glad to co-operate with you in arranging a plan for the temporary maintenance of order and protection of life and property upon the island.”

A positive assurance was given that nothing should be done by British authority to prejudice the status established by the Marcy correspondence of 1855. For his part Scott issued orders immediately for the evacuation of the island, excepting that one company under Captain Hunt should remain. Pickett was not to stay. Hunt was given copies of the correspondence so that he would understand

“the spirit in which it is expected you will execute the delicate and important trust confided to you, the general having full confidence in your intelligence, discretion, and

³⁷ Ibid.

(in what is of equal importance in this case) your *courtesies*."³⁸ (The italics are the General's.)

Subsequently, the plan outlined to Douglas by Scott in his "project of a temporary settlement" was accepted by the British Government. In March, 1860, a force of Royal Marines under Captain George Bazalgette, equal to the American force, was stationed on San Juan; the two forces, at opposite ends of the island, carrying out their duties until final settlement in 1871, in perfect friendliness.

GENERALS SCOTT AND HARNEY.

The responsibility for the crisis, so far as the American side is concerned, rested squarely with Harney. Pickett was supported in all he did by his general; Harney acted without orders from Washington. We have seen that he was not supported at general headquarters; General Scott in large measure reversed his (Harney's) policy. Further evidence of disapproval is given by the suggestion of Scott that Harney should accept a transfer to St. Louis. Scott expected that the British would ask for Harney's removal and told Harney so, suggesting that in such a case it would be a relief to the President if Harney were no longer in that command. A conditional order to report at St. Louis was sent by Scott, but it was left to Harney to decide for himself whether he should take advantage of it. Said Scott: "If you decline the order, and I give you leave to decline it, please throw it into the fire." Harney elected to stay where he was; he could not believe that there could be any embarrassment to the President in this, nor could he "suppose the President would be pleased to see [him] relinquish [the] command." After Scott left for the east, Pickett was re-instated in his command and Harney issued orders in connection with his duties that could scarcely be harmonized with General Scott's instructions. This led to his recall to Washington, where a reprimand was administered by the Secretary of War—not a severe reprimand,

³⁸ Ibid, p. 76.

as the Secretary had regard for his "known high character and distinguished services," and Pickett was again removed.

There were, unfortunately, other subjects in dispute between these two officers, and something like a quarrel ensued. Late in 1859 or early in 1860 Scott wrote very strongly to the Adjutant-General. He said:

"In dismissing this most nauseating subject [court-marring of an officer for alleged insubordination], I beg permission to add, that the highest obligations of my station compel me to suggest a doubt whether it be safe in respect to our foreign relations, or just to the gallant officers and men in the Oregon Department, to leave them longer, at so great a distance, subject to the ignorance, and caprice of the present head-quarters of that department."³⁹

It was not until June, 1860, however, that the recall was issued. The sympathy of the people in Washington Territory was strongly with Harney, as is shown by resolution passed by the legislature.

WHO WAS TO BLAME?

The rebuke to General Harney seems to have been deserved. Both sides, of course, were claiming title, but the real status was that neither government was to take action implying sole sovereignty until the Commission issued its findings. On the basis of the Hudson's Bay pig affair Harney seized the territory and proclaimed through Pickett that "no laws other than those of the United States, nor courts except such as are held by virtue of said laws, will be recognized or allowed on this island." He had no special orders; nor did he consult with Commissioner Campbell. Pickett evidently felt the weakness of his case when, as he plainly says, he "endeavored to impress them [the three British captains] with the idea that [his] authority [came] directly through [Harney] from Washington." In the same communication we have this:

39 Ex. Doc. No. 65, 36th Cong., 1st Sess. pp. 190-1.

"I must add that they [the captains] seem to doubt the authority of the general commanding, and do not wish to acknowledge his right to occupy this island, which they say is in dispute, unless the United States government have decided the question with Great Britain. I have so far staved them off, by saying that the two governments have without doubt settled this affair; but this state of affairs cannot last, therefore I most respectfully ask that an express be sent me immediately on my future guidance."⁴⁰

This shows at least that Pickett was uneasy; there is no evidence that Harney was.

Commissioner Campbell was surprised at the occupation. That Pickett should land troops seemed to him natural enough—it had been done before when Indians threatened,—but that Pickett should refuse to allow British forces to land for the protection of their nationals was strange. He saw Pickett's confidential instructions and wrote to Harney that he could only suppose it "possible, if not probable" that he had received instructions from the War Department for the occupation of the island. Not having heard from the State Department himself, however, he felt "considerably troubled lest there might be some misunderstanding." He advised "caution; so as to prevent if possible any collision, which," he thought "under no circumstances ought to be allowed to occur." He expressed a fear that Harney's action might "somewhat embarrass the question," and declared, "I shall be greatly relieved to learn that you have some authority from the government for the decisive step you have taken."⁴¹ Inferentially, then, Campbell blames Harney, for there was no "authority from the government for the decisive step." In his explanation to the commissioner Harney declared that the relative claims of the two governments were not in any way affected by his action. "The British authorities chose to violate treaty stipulations made in good faith, and maintained by the United States in good faith, by attempting to arrest an American citizen on San Juan Island to carry him to Victoria to be tried by British

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 17.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 59.

laws. To prevent a repetition of this outrage, until the government of the United States could be apprised of it, I have placed troops on the island, with such orders as I have deemed necessary to effect this object." To the Adjutant General at Washington he made the somewhat indefinite statement that he "disclaimed any intention of asserting any sovereignty over the island of San Juan, beyond that which the necessity of the case had demanded."⁴² Ambiguous as this is I decline the task of harmonizing it with the proclamation of Pickett. That proclamation was the establishment of a complete American sovereignty or words are meaningless. But did Great Britain violate the treaty as Harney alleges? That would make some difference, certainly.

The gravamen of the charge against the British authorities was that they attempted to arrest an American citizen and take him to Victoria for trial under British laws for an offense committed against a British subject. The offense was not denied (indeed, the offender, perhaps needlessly, avowed his deed)—a Hudson's Bay Company's hog was shot—but the incident of the alleged attempted arrest is variously described. Harney did not get his story straight. As explained to Douglas the soldiers were ordered to San Juan

"to protect the American citizens residing on that island from the insults and indignities which the British authorities of Vancouver's Island, and the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company recently offered them, by sending a British ship-of-war from Vancouver's Island to convey the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company to San Juan for the purpose of seizing an American citizen and forcibly transporting him to Vancouver's Island to be tried by British laws."⁴³

This inaccurate account gave Douglas a fine opportunity to deny the charge. That Harney was reflecting the popular feeling in identifying the Company with the government there can be no doubt, nor can it be doubted that there was some justification. It was not, however, technically correct, and Douglas, could point out that the Company's officers had no

⁴² Ibid, p. 38.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 22.

more rights than had other British citizens. By this time Douglas' connection with the Company was at an end, though the severance was very recent. His resignation of all official connection with, and interest in, the Company had been demanded by the British Government as a condition of the appointment as Governor of British Columbia toward the end of 1858. The Governor emphatically says:

"To the reported outrage on an American citizen I beg to give the most unhesitating and unqualified denial. None of her Majesty's ships have ever been sent to convey the chief factor or any other officer of the Hudson's Bay Company to San Juan for the purpose of seizing an American citizen, nor has any attempt ever been made to seize an American citizen and to transport him forcibly to Vancouver's Island for trial."

Of course not; Mr. Dallas, who was accused of the attempt to arrest, was not chief factor but a director of the Company, and President of Council in North America; he did not go in a war-ship but in the Company's trading-steamer; he did not go for the purpose of seizing anybody, he happened to be there at the time; nor did he attempt to forcibly transport Cutler, for, as Cutler himself deposes, he was only threatened. Mr. Dallas denied even the threatening, and gave a different account of some of the other details of the affair. "No demand of \$100, or any other sum of money, was made upon him [Cutler], nor did I threaten to apprehend him, or take him to Victoria. On the contrary, I stated distinctly that I was a private individual, and could not interfere with him. I have fortunately three unimpeachable witnesses to prove this."⁴⁴

Among the contradictory statements we have to find sufficient evidence to warrant Harney seizing the island if he can be warranted at all. He was demonstrably at fault in his account of some parts; other parts are in doubt through conflict of evidence. Beyond cavil the culprit was not actually arrested and no force was used upon him, even if we concede

⁴⁴ *The British Colonist*, June 7th, 1860.

that he was threatened. Harney's reaction was to send 461 soldiers and several field-guns to take exclusive possession--a steam-hammer to kill a gnat. The truth seems to be that Harney took the prevailing hostile view of the Hudson's Bay Company (a view that was in a large measure shared by the British residents on Vancouver Island) and allowed himself to take stronger action than his instructions permitted. On the other hand, Douglas, but recently chief-factor for the Company at Victoria and apparently still willing to support the Company's aggressive policies, studiously refrained from committing acts that were technically wrong. He sent a magistrate to the island before Pickett landed, as the result of the pig-shooting, but the limit of the commission was "to warn off all persons who may attempt to assert any rights of occupancy as against the British Dominion." Specifically the justice was to be "most careful to avoid giving any occasion that might lead to acts of violence." This is far short of sole occupation by force of arms, and in any case Harney knew nothing of this commission when he issued orders to Pickett. After the seizure, Douglas was ready to fight; he ordered the naval force to respond to the call for help when the call should come from the civil authorities. Furthermore, the orders were explicit that the Americans were to be prevented from landing more troops.

This was war, and so it was understood at the time. Duncan George Forbes Macdonald, surveyor with the British boundary commission then on the spot, writing in 1862 declares:

"In this San Juan affair, let the people of England never forget how nearly we were thrown into all the horrors of war, at a time when the States were not, as now, dis-united and helpless, by the intemperate policy of His Excellency Governor Douglas, who is Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Colony of British Columbia and its dependencies. But for the arrival of Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Baynes, K.C.B., at the eleventh hour, war with America was certain. This I know, having been upon the island when His Excellency's commands were re-

ceived. The good old Admiral and the captains of his fleet boldly refused to adopt a course which would have created a rupture between England and America. These noble upholders of the British Flag contemplated with true feeling the awful effect of the boom of cannon and the roll of musketry. To the chivalry and forbearance, therefore, of these wise and valiant men the two kindred nations owe much indeed. It would be an unpardonable omission were I not to make special mention of Captain Hornby, of the "Tribune," who, although under the most positive instructions from the Commander-in-Chief to declare war at once, took upon himself the responsibility of delaying the execution until the arrival of the Admiral, who was daily expected."⁴⁵

For additional evidence I quote from Angus McDonald who has already been referred to. McDonald as Chief-factor at Fort Colville for the Hudson's Bay Company would not naturally be suspected of bias against Douglas. He writes:

"Although Governor Douglas and Colonel Hawkins, the British commissioner, were rather in favor of a war, the lucky arrival of Admiral Baynes muzzled their designs in a council of war held at Victoria, where he told the Governor that if ordered to attack the American camp on San Juan he would refuse doing it, and he hooted the idea of raising a war with America for such nonsense, it having as reported been started by a personal quarrel over a Hudson's Bay Company's pig."⁴⁶

The Admiral seems to have shared in a measure the popular British opinion of the Company. Captain Hornby, writing to his wife on December 4, 1859, says:

"I hear that the Governor has got much praise in England for keeping peace with the Yankees. That is rather good, when one knows that he would hear of nothing but shooting them all at first and that peace was only preserved by my not complying with his wishes, as I felt he was all in the wrong from the start."⁴⁷

This evidence is hardly impeachable. To Baynes, Douglas urged that he had "clear and definite instructions" from his government "to treat the islands in the Haro Archipelago as part of the British Dominion"; but, as Baynes pointed out

⁴⁵ Macdonald's *British Columbia and Vancouver Island*, London 1862, p. 257.

⁴⁶ *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 8, p. 195.

⁴⁷ *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 8, p. 195 (note).

in a despatch to the Admiralty, American squatters had been permitted to locate themselves without being warned off, also an American deputy collector of customs.⁴⁸ The only instructions I have found were those issued before the Marcy correspondence of 1855, and these could hardly be appealed to with fairness. On the evidence, then, Harney would seem to have been technically at fault, but Douglas must take his share of the brick-bats of blame. Harney disturbed the status without sufficient cause, but Douglas would have brought about bloodshed over a technical breach that could easily have been settled by diplomacy, and was so settled when wiser men than Douglas restrained him. We have seen that the aggressiveness and greed of the Hudson's Bay Company had much to do with producing the state of mind in which the Americans of the region were prepared to take arms if necessary in support of Harney. The honors for preventing bloodshed should be shared among the British naval officers, cabinet officers at Washington and General Winfield Scott. The General seems to have been amused by the heroics of his subordinates of the Oregon department.⁴⁹

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN'S ATTITUDE.

This San Juan seizure was looked upon as a very serious affair by President Buchanan, even though his administration was harrassed by domestic dissensions as serious as any that ever tortured this country. In correspondence with Lord Clarendon (whom he had known in London), among other matters, the action of Harney was referred to.⁵⁰ Lord Clarendon wrote:

"This affair at San Juan, tho' more serious than the one at Nicaragua, is of a similar character. The over-zeal (which Talleyrand so much deprecated) and the over-slowness and the over-desire to make political capital without reflecting on the consequences, of employes, have caused difficulties which put the firmness and good faith of both governments to the test. I am much mis-

⁴⁸ *Admiralty Dispatches*.

⁴⁹ See his *Memoirs*, or note in Moore: *International Arbitrations*, p. 222.

⁵⁰ See *Works of James Buchanan*, Vol. 10.

taken if you did not learn the proceedings of General Harney with as much regret as Lord Malmesbury did those of Sir W. Ouseley [in the Nicaragua business]. Lord M. disowned his Plenipotentiary, and you seem to have taken the best course open to you under the circumstances by sending General Scott to supersede General Harney—at least I hope I am not wrong in so interpreting the object of the mission with which he is charged.”

His Lordship is quite sure that the claim of Great Britain is sound, but thinks that above all things a collision should be prevented so that a calm judgment might be rendered.

“John Bull’s usual habit,” he says, “is to take things quietly, but his dander has been roused by the high-handed proceedings of General Harney more than I ever remember upon occasions of the kind, and this miserable business might be productive of the most disastrous consequences. May God of His infinite mercy avert from us all the responsibility and guilt of such disasters.”

The President’s answering letter did not discuss Harney, but urged that his (the President’s) action in sending General Scott must have satisfied even Lord John Russell.

Lord John, the British Foreign Minister at the time, had sent a disquieting despatch to Lord Lyons at Washington; it was this that was disturbing President Buchanan. We must come back to this dispatch shortly, when we shall understand the President’s perturbation. Should Lord John act upon the principle he had enunciated and take possession by force, “I say with you,” declared the President, “May God of his infinite mercy avert from us all the responsibility and guilt of such disasters!” He was sadly disappointed at the turn events had taken for, as he said, he “had earnestly hoped to settle all the dangerous questions between the two countries during [his] presidential term.” “This was,” he said, “one of the prime objects of my ambition but I now find it impossible.” He fears that the influence of the leaders of the Hudson’s Bay Company “has been and will be exerted, not in favor of peace but of war.” “It worries me to think that after a two years’ suc-

cessful trial to unite the people of the two countries in the bonds of kindred and intimate friendship, all my labor may prove to have been in vain." He is sorry to notice from the date of Lord John's dispatch that it could not have been inspired by the knowledge of Harney's conduct.

The third annual message of the President, delivered on December 15, 1859, was taken up to the extent of about one-tenth by San Juan. Competing for attention were many other questions, some of which have assumed a greater place in our history. The message deals among other matters with "recent sad and bloody occurrences at Harper's Ferry," the Supreme Court decision which established the right of every citizen "to take his property of any kind, including slaves, into the common territories belonging equally to all states of the confederacy," the execution of laws against the African slave trade, and the necessity of a Pacific railway. Not much is said about Harney. It was not the proper time to discuss "the weight which ought to be attached to the statements of the British colonial authorities, contesting the accuracy of the information on which the gallant general acted," but it was due to him that his own reasons should be presented. The admiral is praised because "he wisely and discreetly forbore to commit any hostile act." There can be no doubt of the validity of the American title, and in the meantime American citizens will be "placed on a footing at least as favorable as that of British subjects," and a company of soldiers will remain to protect their interests.

We may now leave the discussion of this dangerous crisis, thankful that it was passed without more serious and regrettable consequences. It ended with the agreement to establish joint military occupation. From 1860 until after the final award of the arbitrator in 1871 an equal number of American soldiers and British marines camped on the island, maintaining friendly relations throughout the whole time.

LATER STAGES OF THE DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLE.⁵¹

The dispatch from Lord John Russell to the British Ambassador which distressed President Buchanan so much was dated August 24, 1859, and contained the following offending passage:

“Her Majesty’s Government must, therefore, under any circumstances, maintain the right of the British crown to the Island of San Juan. The interests at stake in connection with the retention of that island are too important to admit of compromise, and your Lordship will, consequently, bear in mind that whatever arrangement as to the boundary line is finally arrived at, no settlement of the question will be accepted by Her Majesty’s Government which does not provide for the Island of San Juan being reserved to the British Crown.”⁵²

The interests at stake were those of defence; it was supposed that the island was of very great strategic value. This view was held by both Britons and Americans. This aspect of the matter was not an unimportant one at that time, however it may look now, but for Lord John Russell to say that “no settlement would be accepted which did not provide for the island being reserved to the British Crown” was surely to pre-judge the case and to utter sentiments contrary to the spirit of the Marcy correspondence. We have seen how it upset the President. He complained:

“We all believed that the line ran through the Canal de Arro. Under this impression you may judge of our astonishment when we found that Lord John, in his first diplomatic note, gives us fair notice that Great Britain never will surrender the subject-dispute. He waits not to hear what can be said on this side of the water in support of our title, but informs us in effect that he had pre-judged the case.”

The main outline of the dispute may be recalled. The commissioners were disputing over the interpretation of the treaty of 1846—the British claimed the Archipelago on the

⁵¹ I am indebted to Moore’s *International Arbitrations* for much of the information used in this section.

⁵² Quoted by Alexander Begg in his *History of British Columbia*, p. 244.

ground that the Rosario channel was the one intended by the Treaty; the Americans, on the ground that the Canal de Arro (or Haro) was intended. The British case rested on the wording of the treaty but this wording was ambiguous. The channel should have three characteristics to meet the terms of the treaty contended the commission: (1) it should separate the continent from Vancouver's Island; (2) it should admit of the boundary line being carried through it in a southerly direction; (3) it should be a navigable channel. The Haro channel, while it was with difficulty navigable, did not separate from the continent as it was already separated by another channel, and it made it necessary to run the boundary line west before it could run south. This is about as near to verbal quibbling as makes no difference. The American commissioner maintained that the Haro strait should be the boundary because it was the widest, deepest, and largest volume of water and was the one usually marked on the maps at the time of the treaty. As it washed the shores of Vancouver Island it was the only one that could be said to separate the continent from the island. The word "southerly" was not used in its strict sense but as opposed to northerly. The general intention to make Haro the line was shown by the report of Mr. McLane, who conducted the negotiations, to Mr. Buchanan, then at the state office; also by the fact that this report was submitted to the Senate along with the treaty. Furthermore, Senator Benton's speech made it clear how the treaty was generally understood. When the Rosario channel had first been mentioned by Mr. Crampton (British Minister) it was not asserted that it was the channel intended but merely that it had been surveyed and used and "it seemed natural to suppose that that was the one intended." Moreover, the Haro channel had also been surveyed and used—by Spain and by the United States.

The British commissioner had secret instructions to compromise on the middle passage, and in his dispatch Lord

Russell definitely authorized Lord Lyons to negotiate on this basis. The central channel would fit the language of the treaty, and it would be a useful compromise as to the islands, leaving only one important island to Great Britain—San Juan. This offer was made in a spirit of accommodation it was pointed out; the British government would not acknowledge that its claim to the Rosario straits was not valid.

The offer was refused and the commission, having done what it could, and being still unable to agree on interpretation, adjourned proceedings in 1867. The Civil War had intervened and San Juan had been pushed into the background by considerations of much greater moment. Much more serious differences had arisen between the two governments—that over the “Alabama” being the most thorny. Other subjects of dispute were naturalization, fisheries, and reciprocity with Canada. A convention was signed on January 14, 1869, by Mr. Reverdy Johnson and Lord Clarendon by which it was agreed to submit the case to the arbitration of the President of Switzerland. However, in 1871, the matter was still unsettled and among other questions was submitted to the Joint High Commission between the United States and Great Britain. Again the old offers were made, again without success. Britain then proposed arbitration. The United States agreed to this if the arbitrator was to be instructed to determine whether the boundary should go through the Rosario or Haro straits, and refused to accept the proposal that he should have the right to compromise on some other channel. The acceptance of this limitation was a distinct diplomatic victory for the United States and was probably decisive in getting a favorable award later. The German Emperor, fresh from thrilling scenes in Paris, was chosen arbitrator. He was to determine “finally and without appeal which of those claims is most in accordance with the true interpretation of the Treaty of June 15, 1846.” Fortunately for the United States her representative at Berlin was pre-eminently fitted to conduct

her case. George Bancroft, the historian, had been a member of Polk's cabinet when the Oregon Question was one of the liveliest political issues; he had also been the American representative in London. He was an expert on the subject in dispute; his knowledge of American history was vast. In Berlin he was to win a final diplomatic victory, and clear from the slate the last vestige of dispute about the Northwestern boundary. In charge of Britain's interest was the same Admiral James C. Prevost, who, as Captain, had acted as boundary commissioner.

It seems reasonable to suppose that when the Treaty of 1846 was drafted neither government had one particular channel in mind, probably for lack of knowledge of the geography of the region. Maps did not agree; Vancouver's chart (probably used by the British government) had the Canal de Arro marked but he himself used the Rosario strait. The strength of the American case, however, was in the general intention as shown in the negotiations, and the general sense in which it was understood at the time of the acceptance of the treaty. In the discussion preliminary to the treaty Buchanan (then Secretary of State) offered to make free to Great Britain any port or ports she might desire south of parallel forty-nine on Vancouver Island, if that line should be accepted. Great Britain stood out for free navigation of the Columbia and Buchanan withdrew his offer. A little later Pakenham (for Great Britain) urged parallel forty-nine or the arbitration of "some friendly sovereign or state." This was refused, and the matter hung fire. A few months passed and in February, 1846, Buchanan let McLane (who was acting in London for the United States) know that from the temper of the Senate he judged that parallel forty-nine would be accepted. McLane talked to Lord Aberdeen who agreed to submit a proposal through Pakenham. Fresh from his conversation with Aberdeen, McLane reported to the State Office that the proposal would likely be to divide at parallel forty-nine to

the Canal de Haro and the Straits of Fuca. President Polk, writing on the very day the draft was presented, observed to McLane:

“Neither does it provide that the line shall pass through the Canal de Arro, as stated in your dispatch. This would probably be a fair construction.”

A week later Buchanan used these words:

“Thence along the middle of this channel and the Strait of Fuca, so as to render the whole of that island to Great Britain.”

The island, of course, was Vancouver.

To permit Great Britain to retain the whole of Vancouver Island was in fact the only reason for deflecting the line at all from parallel forty-nine. Senator Benton in the Senate definitely mentioned the Haro Channel, showing clearly how he understood the arrangement. Aberdeen in his instructions to Pakenham did not, it is true, mention any definite channel, but he said nothing about any islands except that of Vancouver—“thus giving us the whole of Vancouver’s Island and its harbors.” The same general understanding on the part of Sir Robert Peel is plain enough—“but that the middle of the channel shall be the future boundary, thus leaving us in possession of the whole of Vancouver’s Island, with equal rights to navigation of the straits.” Nevertheless, the Canal de Haro is not “the middle of the channel” constituted by the Gulf of Georgia. From something that happened, George Bancroft when minister of London, got suspicious that there might be difficulties of interpretation and asked for some charts to be sent to him—charts which he had caused to be prepared when he was at the Navy Department. Benton had said that the islands were of no value, but Bancroft knew better. He (Bancroft) asked permission to claim the Haro Strait if a dispute arose; Buchanan, however, thought it improbable that Great Britain would seriously make a claim for anything east of the Haro Channel. Bancroft thought this was true of the ministry but said he had reason to think that

the Hudson's Bay Company wished to get some of the islands in the gulf. It was in 1847 that Bancroft wrote this; in 1850 the Hudson's Bay Company began salmon-packing operations on San Juan. By 1848 Lord Palmerston in London and Mr. Crampton in Washington were asking for charts and suggesting that the boundary depended first of all on interpretation of the treaty rather than on a survey. Mr. Crampton said that only one channel seemed to have been surveyed—that used by Vancouver. If this construction was accepted then the channel near the mainland would be the boundary, giving the only important island to the United States—Whidby. The other islands, it was said, were of little or no value. But nothing was done about it.

Then followed events already related—incorporation of San Juan into Washington Territory, the trouble over assessments and customs, the Marcy correspondence, the appointment of the commission, the difference of interpretation, the slow progress of the negotiations, the impatience of American settlers and intending settlers to have the matter decided, the shooting of the Hudson's Bay Company's pig, the military occupation by Harney, the agreement on joint military administration, and the submission of the case to arbitration. On October 21, 1872, the Emperor announced his award to be that the Haro Channel was "most in accordance with the true interpretations" of the treaty of 1846. On March 10, 1873, a protocol was signed at Washington by Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, Sir Edward Thornton Minister of Great Britain to the United States, and Admiral Prevost by which the boundary was finally determined. No further trouble occurred; in a few weeks the marines were withdrawn and the United States held undisputed sovereignty.

Thus another chapter of Northwestern history was closed. On the merits of the case the decision appears to have been quite just; one cannot doubt that the only object in departing from parallel forty-nine short of the Pacific Ocean was to

give Great Britain the Island of Vancouver and that only. The foundation of the British claim, a verbal ambiguity, was essentially weak.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

The point of highest interest in this story as I have told it is the forcible military occupation of San Juan in 1859 by General Harney's soldiers. I treated it as an incident in the westward movement of the white man's civilization—in the Europeanization of America—in the supersession of barbarism. This truly was the important process taking place at the time. The struggle for possession of San Juan was a minor affair between groups of whites with their more or less serious causes of disagreement. I traced sketchily the spread of the dominion of the United States across the continent and showed how the Oregon Question was raised and settled, leaving the disposition of the islands of the Gulf of Georgia somewhat uncertain. Something of the part taken in these matters by the Hudson's Bay Company has been indicated. I showed them migrating from the Columbia to Vancouver Island. We saw how the opposed economic interests of the Company and the American farmers aggravated national animosities. Another disturbing factor was the gold discovered on British soil and eagerly sought by American adventurers. I recounted the disabilities of American miners in the situation and the efforts of their government to provide a remedy. The history of San Juan Island and how it came to be the scene of the explosion of American exasperation has been told. We have followed together the details of the occupation, the reasons given for it, and the response of the British authorities to it. Particular attention was given to the parts played by General Harney, Governor Douglas, and Admiral Baynes. We saw a satisfactory settlement effected by General Scott on the one side and Admiral Baynes on the other. I have tried to find out

who was to blame and am obliged to conclude that Harney through Pickett disturbed the status established by Marcy in 1855. Both sides were pledged to refrain from acts involving the implication of sole sovereignty pending the result of the work of an international commission. Pickett's proclamation on San Juan was an assertion of sole sovereignty. As the landing was directed more against the Hudson's Bay Company and the British authorities than against hostile Indians it amounted to seizure by force. In the upshot Harney's policy was in effect repudiated by the government. Douglas, on his side, seemed disposed to fall back on instructions earlier than 1855 and, on the theory of sole British sovereignty, to put all to the test of arms. He issued orders that really meant war. Had not naval officers refrained from executing his orders hostilities must have occurred. The worst was averted by Admiral Baynes, who took the situation out of Douglas' hands. I pointed out that the British claim to San Juan rested on a verbal ambiguity in the Treaty of 1846, that the commissioners disagreed hopelessly on the interpretation of the doubtful passage, and that arbitration was eventually agreed upon by the two governments. Strong evidence has been produced that the plain intention of the treaty was to run the boundary through Haro Straits, thus leaving the islands on the American side of the boundary, and that it was understood in this sense by the various officers of the American government concerned. The final award made by the German Emperor in 1871 in favor of the United States would therefore seem to be a just one.

But did it really matter whether San Juan was American or British? It mattered to the individuals who wished to take land on the generous American terms. Under the settlement the private interests of the Hudson's Bay Company were, of course, protected, but the Company could no longer retard nor control land cultivation. The crown rights of the Company on Vancouver Island expired in 1859, but, while it then became easier to get land, the British policy was not so generous

to the home-seeker as the American. The outcome of the dispute made a real economic difference to some few individuals. Broadly, however, the matter was not of vast importance. The civilized white stranger was crowding the native barbarian off the soil, and the dispute over San Juan was between two groups of about equal culture. The standards of life would have been broadly the same whatever the issue. As things are and have been in the world, the American and British peoples may indulge themselves in legitimate pride and thankfulness that the Oregon Question in its various phases was settled without recourse to the stern arbitrament of war. The contest was at times acrimonious, but never, we may be thankful, bloody. In spite of dangerous lapses of judgment on the part of individuals of both nations, the affair of San Juan did not mar the record. The over-zeal of employes was counter-balanced by the calmer judgment of more responsible officials. If to our sorrow we have often to reflect that men are not equally wise, at least we may take comfort from the fact that they are not equally foolish.

DOCUMENTARY

THE LETTERS OF THE REV. WILLIAM M. ROBERTS, THIRD
SUPERINTENDENT OF THE OREGON MISSION.*

Second Installment.

Edited by ROBERT MOULTON GATKE

(Copy)

Oregon City, March 18th, 1848.

To the Cor. Secy. &C.

REV. DR. PITMAN.

Dear Bro.:

In a former part of this report, I have given you the No. of persons in the employ of the Mission. The condition of their families, the work they are engaged in together with such general facts as I then deemed important. I now present the *fiscal state of the mission*, and do it in a separate letter because whatever publicity may be given to the former, this is somewhat more confidential and private. I allude first to salaries or the amt. paid to the preachers, David Leslie \$624. I. H. Wilbur \$600. A. F. Waller \$680. W. Roberts \$800. Wm. Helm \$404. J. L. Parrish \$364. The amt. which will be necessary for Bros. Helm and Parrish each the coming year will be \$450. I think this will be satisfactory to them, of course all their time is not employed in Pastoral work tho most of it is, unfortunately neither of them live on their circuit. Chauncey S. Hosford the Young man living in my family is to receive 100. and his board. When at home the items of work he does in my family in the intervals of study are an equivalent in part at least for his board and when abroad, his work is so fully Mission work that his salary of course should be paid by the mission.

Indeed my work as Sup. requires the employment of some one constantly, as an assistant in travelling for four months I had an Indian at an Expense of \$25.99. He traveled over Mt. Hood with me from The Dalles last September. In the above items I am giving the amt. that is to be paid rather than the precise items which have been recd. by each one, the latter I could not do without a settlement with each one which I have not yet had.

The table Expenses of Bro. Wilbur and myself which were to commence immediately on our arrival in Oregon, will bear

* The first installment is found in Volume XXI, pp. 33-47 (March number, 1920).

date from July 1st-1847. The annual Expenses of the mission supposing things to remain as they now are (which of course cannot be long) are a little [over] \$3700, increased by various contingencies chargeable to Expense [account]. The amt. recd. from the board the past year (I mean since I have been here) is Goods per Bark Whiton \$562.06 as per invoice. Ditto Bibles & [Testaments] \$208.23. There is now lying at Portland two boxes of Bibles & Tes. which came in the [Mt. Vernon?] values as per note I recd. at the Bible House in Novr. /46, at \$260.90. I failed to have them brought up the river before the rainy season commenced and have a supply, had them stored there until this spring. There is due to the mission for property sold by Bro. Gary as follows from I. R. Robb \$1140.35 payable in instalments of 250 each. Judson and Wilson \$5122.20 do. of \$500. H. Campbell \$3144.00 do. \$705.83 annually. Geo. Abernethy \$9501.21 do. \$2000. annually in currency and \$500. in cash or its equivalent, these are the principal liabilities held by the mission instalments payable as aforesaid with interest at 6 pr. ct. pr. annum. I will try to tell you how available they are. I. R. Robbs notes are for the mission farm on the Clackamas about which there was some difficulty. Bro. Gary says I should give him a years interest \$90. the instalmt[s] for 1846 & /47 are behind and he says Br. Gary told him he should not be hurried for payment and when it comes it is in the "chips and Whitstones" currency of the country—Judson & Wilsons Notes are for the Mills and property near the institute payment in currency. The instalment for Sep. 1847 and interest is behind except 237. and some lumber for a barn. Wilson is dissatisfied with his responsibility and wishes to get his name off the notes. He thinks Bro. Gary favours his claim on this property as per letter he (Wilson) has written to the board and represents him (Bro. Gary) as saying if the '47 instalment was met those for /48 and /49 would perhaps be remitted by the board and certainly not be crowded. If I were to say a word here it would be this that I have not a particle of belief that the board ever ought or ever will remit a farthing for any such plea as is put in in his letter. But then all this answers to baffle me in any attempts to collect the notes. H. Campbells notes are for Horses & Cattle in currency of course and the instalments for 1846 & /47 are behind. He represents Bro. Gary as saying that if the interest was payed the principle would not be required at present. I think Br. Gary never encouraged any such thing.

Bro Abernethy has paid each year more than his \$2000. I think \$1000 or more over last year: but the cash I. E. \$500 he did not meet and tells me that he is not sure that he can pay all of it this year either. His \$2000 is in currency it will buy flour when he has it at \$4.50 pr Hundred while the cash paid is \$3.00 pr cwt. He has no groceries and but few dry goods in his store. There is an honest buisiness like promptness in his manner of doing buisiness which I like, and altho he cannot just now meet all his engagements with the mission yet I have no doubt he will be able to do so when he shall have struggled through the toils of the present year. Last fall I loaned him an Order on Vancouver for \$1100. payable in Silver March first 1848. This I [did] partly to help him through a hard year and partly for the sake of getting some cash for I had not the prospect of getting a dollar to help myself except I sold Drafts on the treasury at some 10 to twenty pr ct. discount. When this note fell due he could not meet it Therefore I paid my Vancouver bill (which included this amount together with a draft I loaned the provincial Government for \$400, spoken of in a former letter and \$158.36. for supplies and the payment of Indians total \$1758.36) in two sets of exchange drawn in triplicate in favor of James Douglass Esq. one for \$1190.96 and the other for \$561.40. It was somewhat mortifying to myself and to Br. Abernethy for for me to draw for the whole amount of the \$1100. which he borrowed, as the army had taken some of the wheat with which he hoped to meet the engagement and otherwise deranged his plans he has paid \$150 on the note and the rest I think will soon be in hand. Formerly there was some cash coming in from things sold at the Dallas now of course there is none except it be the \$500 from Bro. Abernethy and it is impossable to manage the payments of the salaries &c of the Preachers & freight without the cash in hand. (I have just paid \$50 for 50 bushels of wheat for bread. \$20 for 20 bushels of potatoes. and \$35.70 for 51 bushels of Oats for my horse in cash and very thankful to get them at that.) besides hauling them at an expense of nearly 10 Dol. more. But I will proceed with the debts due the Mission—G. Abernethy (above mention'd) \$1100. in Silver less \$150. already paid. Beers. Abernethy & Force \$220.64.—G. Abernethy \$299.82 D. Leslie \$339.17 G. Abernethy \$390. due Oct. 3d 1848. Beers and Carter 400 bush wheat due Sep. 1846. J. Q. Thornton \$282.

payable in two years. The above payable in currency where not otherwise indicated. Provisional Government \$1500. payable in Silver in three years: \$1000 of which is at 10 pr. ct. \$500 of which at 7 pr ct. per annum. One thousand of the above was in Drafts on the board and \$500 in an order on H. Campbell. I have said enough in my former letters by J. Meek Esq. as to the nature and necessity of the above loans to the Government. Wilson, Leslie, Beers & Abernethy's bond for \$4437.83 for the Institute payable in July 1851 &c &c. I hold a house & Lot as security for the payment of \$330 due Jan 1st 1849—This amt. I loaned in order to get a house for Bro Leslie to reside in as mentioned in a former letter the interest is the rent. The only other debt due the Mission except a few small items the exact amt. is not easily ascertained is that of Doct. Whitman for the movable property left at the Dalles amounting to \$561.38 payable either at Vancouver after May 1st 1848 or in a draft in triplicate on the A. B. C. F. M. to be drawn 8th Sep. 1848.¹ I have not yet decided which to take but probably it will be on Vancouver unless I can find a good chance to sell the Dft. for cash. The entire amount I think is \$28308.60 Exclusive of the four hund. bush of wheat. The amount of property held by the mission is about as follows, Real estate—at Oregon City—House with Barn just erected—\$1900. This is the one I reside in. Another in which Broth. Leslie resides \$1236. This house is the Force property which was not redeemed as was promised and provided for. Parsonage at the Institute with 200 Acres \$1380.08. There are yet a few items unsold which came from the Dalles—One Waggon. 1 Yoke of Oxen and three inferior horses. Of books left by Bro. Gary²—6 q. Rev. V vol—1 do. W. A. 3 [Wesley] Mission to America—3 Powel on succession—3 Crovosso—4 Wat. Wesly—2 Ben Fletcher—1 man of Preachers—1 Mib on Babtism—1 Lady Maxwell—one Erron of Corini—7 men of Crovosso—1 Set Lonk & notes—1 Life Luther—4 Bromwell—2 Bunyan—1 Hestaram Rogers—4 Rem. of Cox—4 Nelsons Juvenile—2 Mason on Sf. Knowl.—1 Let. to Pusey—5 Watson Apol—5 Intro to Christian—1 Scrip. Chur.—1 Vill. Blacksmith—1 Sketches &c—1 The Jew.—Walls End War p.—1 Meth. by Dixon—1 Hare on Justi—1 Prayr. meetings—113 Meth. Hymns—41 Disci.—5 Chris. Maanuel—6 Wes. on Perfec.—5 Christian Pattern—1 Seri.

¹ In anticipation of the necessity of moving from his interior mission, Dr. Whitman had arranged to purchase the Methodist Mission site at The Dalles.

² Mr. Roberts' purpose in keeping a copy of his official correspondence was merely to have one for his own reference, hence his free use of abbreviations when making that copy. Many of these book titles will be recognized readily altho some are too obscure to justify an effort to interpret them.

Enquirer—12 Class Books—1 set Sur. Instruments—1 Do. Cuppin—And there is a lot of some of which I found here others I brought here, 26 quilts—119 Shirts—50 Boys do—157 Yds. Muslain in Little Remnants—8 Sheets—30 pr pillow casses—18 Papers need.—16 Doz. pair Wollen Socks—18 pair Cotton Do.—12 Pair small shoes—8 Pair Boots—Now the rest of the things such as 50 pr. boys pants—24 vests—24 dresses—7 childrens dresses—&c&c are as nearly nothing or worthless as may be. So poor that they are scarcely worth giving to the Indians really I think it not worth while to send such trumpery so many miles at 75 cts. pr. sqr. foot (It would seem as though some of our good friends had made an especial selection of the poor and maimed and that which is lame) to present as an offering to the Lord. How will it do to suggest to them that a little wool off the firstlings of their flock would make us some warm clothing. The truth is we need some good durable warm clothing and I suspect you will have to buy it and the sooner the better. The preachers families are badly in want of various articles of woollen clothing and I hope long before you receive this that we shall get a new supply. It is found necessary in some places to build log churches and I think it the best policy to encourage the people to do this all over the country but in most places they are too poor to buy the glass, sash and nails which are necessary. Nails are 20c per lb glass 12½ pr light and sash the same In cash. The Church we are now building up country is 24 by 32 feet of hewn logs with five windows of 24 lights this is a fair specimen of the kind of churches we need and we must build some parsonages also. It is death to our work to have the preachers living 10 or twenty miles off their circuit and every nail we drive at 20c pr lb is rather a costly affair. In a former letter I asked for some materials to build a house in this city may I ask again for more materials such as 8d 10d 6d 4d Nails some boxes of 8 by 10 glass for the purpose named above. The Course we are trying to adopt is this, to encourage the people to build (to) get them to do all if possible, and where they cannot aid them a little. The articles above named are the most needed also some hinges & fastenings. I wish you would send me a sash plain. Now I shall be glad if the board will send us the things named above with permission to use them for the purposes above mentioned. I think it will be the best economy to spend some means in this way. If Br. Gary were to go with me a few excursions perhaps he would a little

modify the opinion he expressed that the people here are able to pay the table expences of the preachers. In some places they might do a part of it but in most not anything. I regret to state that Br. Flees one of our very best members of Yam Hill who was leading the way in this thing had his house burnt down a few days ago and every thing in it consumed. His family barely escaping with their lives. Did the \$25. worth of tracts voted by the Board ever get on Board the Whiton. There was a Box of Tracts some of which we now have, but I recd. the impression that they were a present from some of the persons in the Book concern. What is the state of the case, the manner in which my stationary goes convinces me that I shall soon need more: I have had to get some books made of it for Record Books of the circuits. There is great need here for school books. Is there any person or any Institution in your city or vicinity intimately enough acquainted with the Books needed in Common Schools and sufficiently interested in the subject of the Education of youth to make the selection and advance the means, necessary to purchase books for a few common schools in this country and wait for the money until there is time to dispose of the Books and make the return.

If there be let such a selection be made and sent, of the very best books most approved now in use in the States. I mean new Books not old ones Such as *Spelling Books*, *Definers of Dic.*, *Reading Books*, *Arithmetics*, *Grammars*, *Geographies*, *Copy Books* and *Slates* with *Pencils* and *ink powder*. One word more and I am done. If you will send us some \$5.00s worth of the best friction machines put up in small parcels in tin cases it will be an accommodation. Bro. Dando sent a note of enquiry by me to this country concerning the Toulon, which sailed in Feb. 1845. Also the Maripos's, the Charles, the Brooklyn and the Stylon by all of which goods or letters were sent. Bro. Gary had answered all these queries before now much more intelligibly than I can. I think that all has come safely to hand I know the goods by the Hylondia for I recd. them and paid the freight of nearly \$30. The lost Bill Book was sent home by Bro. Gary.—With the deep conviction that a large amt. of wisdom which cometh down from above is essential properly to transact the business of this mission, So that Christian enterprize may put forth the most

powerful efforts consistent with strict economy, and praying most earnestly for its bestowment

I am Dear Bro.

Yours in Christ,

William Roberts.

Rev. Dr. Pitman

Cor. Secy.

P. S.—If it would not be too much I would be glad if this letter and postscript could be copied and sent to Bro. Gary, with the request that he will favor me with his maturest advice, in regard to its contents. I wrote to him last fall.—*W. R.*

N. B.—It had not occurred to me until this moment that I am bound to send a Dft. for a small amt. favor Dr. Babcock. It is a small part of certain notes placed in my hands by Bro. Gary for collection for him the Dft. is for \$157.40 for value recd.—*W. R.*

(Copy)

To the Treasurer of the Missionary Socy of the Methodist E. Church—

REVD. G. LANE.

Oregon City, 18th March 1848.

Dear Bro.: I am instructed by the board see. Rec. of Nov. 17, 1846, to keep an account of all such traveling expenses as may necessarily arise out of my duties as superintendent of the Mission and transmit the same to you for payment at every convenient opportunity. The following is the result up to this time including the travel in California as pr order of the board. *Errors excepted.*

Traveling in California in May & June 1847—

Washing in San Francisco & co.....	\$ 1.00
Passage to Monteray	15.00
Board	4.00
Supper, horse & guide at San Juan.....	2.25
Loss on horse bot. for \$20. sold for \$10.....	10.00
Postage on letters sent by Panama.....	1.00
Oregon Jan. 1848. Ferriage	3.00
Wages of Indian to travel with 4 months.....	25.99
March trip to Vancouver	1.38
Ferriage over Walamet 1 year.....	4.00

\$68.22

I am Yours very truly

Wm. Roberts.

To Rev. G. Lane
Treasurer &c.

*To the corresponding Secy of the Sunday School Union of the
M. E. Church.*

REV. D. P. KIDDER

Oregon City, 18th March, 1848.

Dear Broth.: The annual Express of the Hudson Bay Company starts tomorrow for Canada and I improve the opportunity to write a few lines in relation to the Sabbath School interest in Oregon. At this time there are but two Sabbath schools really organised in this country under the care of our Church. One at this city with one Sup. 8 Teach. 48 Scholars. & 150 volumes in the Library. This school is now in a flourishing condition but there have [been] no cases of conversion reported among the children during the past year. There were a few vol. of Books in the Library when we arrived in the country but those reported above are the set furnished by the kindness of the board in the autumn of 1846. The other school is at Salem and is held in the Oregon Institute. It has 2 Superintendents, 10 Teach., 40 Scholars, and upwards of 150 vols in the Library. I am pleased with the prospects of this School an amount of seriousness was manifest among the children at my last visit that showed the teachers are not labouring in vain.

The donation of Books which we brought to this country were I think judiciously selected and will be of great advantage. As soon as the rainy season is over we expect to start a number of Schools in places where it has been impossible during the rainy season. The action of quarterly conferences contemplated in the discipline in regard to the instruction of children &c was thoroughly attended to during my brief sojourn in this land. But the scattered state of the population lies directly in the way of doing much good in the way of Sabbath School labours at present. There is one way however in which as we go from place to place much good may be done. It is by distributing copies of the S. S. Advocate & suitable books for children. The Box of Advocates brought by the Whiton are almost gone. It contained only the first 12 No. of the 4 Vol., we are most thankful for them but can you send us another Box containing the remainder of the volumn, and so on with

the rest. The bound copies of the Advocate are eagerly sought for. I can dispose of 50 copies annually selling the whole of them at the full price. The 10 sets of Library Books placed in my hands I have disposed of as follows, Sabbath School at San Francisco uper California, 1 Set of 150 vols another at this place in the School and another at the school at Salem. It is possible that we may break one or two of the sets for the sake of getting Books to place in the hands of Children in various parts of the country where as yet we can have no school. The rest will be reserved for new schools as they may be formed in various parts of the country. We have many ragged ignorant children these are growing up in this country as wild and careless of God as the wolves that nightly howl around the cabins in which they sleep. And we must haste to save them ere yet their vices are full grown yealding in abundance the bitter fruit of Sin.

In earnest hope that Heaven will bless and direct our labours and that you will render all possible assistance, I subscribe myself,

Yours in Christ,

William Roberts.

To Revd. D. P. Kidder.

Oregon City, March 18th, 1848.

TO BR. J. L. BABCOCK:

Sir, of the let Notes your Your favour left in my hands by Bro. Gary for collection, I have succeeded in collecting or securing the following amt. On the note of J. Applegate \$90 cash. J. Hutchins \$20 cash. On another 46 Bush wheat at 90c pr bu \$41.40. There is a small amt. more collected on this last item it is in the hands of Bro Beers to whom I have committed many of the Notes due in the French Settlement there will of course be some expence envolved in the collection I shall do what is in my power for your accommodation. I now send you a draft for \$157.40. I deem it quite a misfortune for you that any of your things brought prices so exorbitant it is a direct barrier to their collection.

I am Yours truly,

Wm. Roberts.

\$157.40

Oregon City, March 18th, 1848.

Ten days after date of this first of Exchange (second &

third of the same tenor and date unpaid) pay to the Order of J. L. Babcock one hundred fifty seven 40/100 dollars value Recd and charge to the act. of Oregon Mission.

Yours,

Wm. Roberts.

TO REV. G. LANE, New York
Treasurer of the Miss. of the M. E. Church.

(Copy)

To the Corresponding Secy of the American Bible Society
REV'D DR. BRIGHAM.

Dear Sir: I hereby desire to acknowledge the rect. of two lots of Bibles . Testaments one by the Bark Whiton invoiced at \$208.23½ the other per Ship Mt. Vernon valued as per note I rec'd at the Bible House in Novr 6 at \$200.90. This last Lot I have had stored at Portland 12 Miles below untill the rainy season is over. Of course I have not yet examined them nothing more appropriate was ever brought to Oregon than the Book of God. At another time I will tell you something of the distribution we have made as well as the Sales. For we have been circulating them both on the Ocean in California as well as in this country.

In those sent by us in the Whiton there was a deficiency of Royal Octave Bibles (E. I. Family Bibles) as the people call them. I wish you would ascertain. If, in those sent by the Mount Vernon there is a good supply of these if not send us some by the first opportunity. We are making arrangements to form a Bible Society Auxy &c on this side of the Rocky Mountains. With many thanks for those favours rec'd from you through the missy Socy. of the M. E. Church.

I am yours in Christ,

Wm. Roberts,

Rev. Dr. Brigham.

Supt. of Oregon Mission.

TO REV. G. LANE Oregon City, March 18th, 1848.

Dear Bro.: I hereby advise you of having drawn on you this day for \$157.40 Dollars favor of J. L. Babcock which you will please honor and charge to account of Oregon Mission.

Yours truly,

Wm. Roberts.

*To Revd G. Lane, Treasurer
of Missy Socy of M. E. Church.*

Oregon City, Sat. Morn, 25 March, 1848.

TO MR. PETTIGREW.

Sir: I hereby send Mr. Horford to your place to ascertain if any arrangement can be made for public preaching there tomorrow. I desire to come down to your place (tomorrow) (Sunday morning) and preach in Portland sometime during the day if entirely agreeable to those concerned provided a place can be found where it will be suitable. I am not aware of any religious service in your place tomorrow and even should there be, mine perhaps can be fixed at some other hour not unacceptable to the people. [Trusting] that you will favor any proper effort to promote the morals of the people I have taken the liberty to address you and remain

Your Obt. Servant,

Wm. Roberts.

P. S.—I can visit your place again in a fortnight.—*W. R.*

Oregon City, 17 April, 1848.

DEAR BRO. BREWER:³

When I saw you on Thursday last I understood that it was your intention to come to this place to go to the Islands in the *Eveline*. Let us understand each other definitely. I then said that I believed it wrong for you to insist on going at this time. You are acquainted with my reasons. Still I will repeat them so that they may be known to the Board at home. If you go to the Islands now there are 9 chances out of 10 that you must remain there on Expense until next Autumn and the cost of living is high.

If you go home by way of China it is enormously expensive and the vessels must wait somewhere until the ordinary season, for a return Cargo which will detain you just as long as if you remain here until July or August by which time some vessel may be going home direct or an opportunity is furnished of going to the Island as Bro. Gary did in time for the ordinary Autumn passage home. Still as I find you are determined to go at all hazards, as I mentioned when I saw you I shall not object any further, but shall refer you Entirely to the Board for any allowance for expenses you may incur above what would be reasonably incurred if you were to wait and go about the time known to be the best to reach the Islands if there should be no passage home direct.

I am, Dear Bro.,

³ Henry B. Brewer, lay member of the Fourth group of Methodist Missionaries, who arrived in Oregon June 1, 1840.

Yours in Christ,

Wm. Roberts.

P. S.—I have engaged your passage in the above vessel and Mr. Holden will inform you as to time.

To the corresponding Secy of the Missy Socy of the M. E. Church.

Oregon City, April 1, 1848.

REV. DR. PITMAN.

Dear Bro.: I learn a party of men intend starting for the states on the first of May and I desire to send by them [a] duplicate, or second Edition rather, of our annual report. The annual meeting of the Mission was held at the Institute on the 11th & 12th instant. It was deemed proper to have the business correspond in its general arrangement with the order pursued in our annual conferences so far at least as our infant state would allow. The examination of Character, the respective claims of the Missionary, Bible, Sunday School, and Temperance Societies with the interests of Education. Reports of numbers in Societies together with the extension of our work and appointment of our scanty labourers to their respective fields of labour occupied two days of close and diligent attention. Nor were our religious services without their interest. It was a season of great spiritual profit and up to this moment all is harmony and peace. There are eight persons in the employ of the Mission including those sent by the board and four others employed by the Superintendent to do regular pastoral work. I might add a ninth which is a young man of promise living in my family and employ'd partly as an assistant in travelling and partly with a view to direct pastoral labour. *David Leslie* resides in this city. His family consists of five persons, Himself, wife, and three children one over 14 one under 14 and over 7, and another under 7 years of age. He has charge of the pulpit here and sometimes preaches in the village of Clackamas 2 miles distant; But the laps of years makes it almost impossible for him to travel and he claims to be almost Supernumerary. We have here 47 members in Society and 1 Sabbath School with nine officers and teachers. 60 scholars and 150 volumes in the Library.

James H. Wilber lives at the Oregon Institute⁴ and has charge of the Salem circuit. His family consists of himself, wife and daughter. There is on the same circuit and living

⁴ Located at what is now Salem.

in the same parsonage *A. F. Waller*, formerly stationed at the Dalles of the Columbia but who since the transfer of that station to Doct. Whitman in September last has been labouring with brother Wilber. Brother Waller's family consists of himself, wife, 2 children under 14 and over 7 and 3 under 7 years of age. There are on this circuit 115 members and two Sabbath Schools one at the Institute and the other at the Santi Am.⁵ Here are 9 officers and teachers 48 scholars and upwards of 150 vol. in the library.

My own family resides at Oregon City and consists of my wife and self and two children one over and the other under 7 years of age. The young man already spoken of and one orphan child 13 years of age who was in the family of Doct. Whitman at the time of the massacre and whose two brothers were butchered at the same time, her name is Catharine Segar. Occasionally the work of the mission allows me to be at home at which time I assist Broth Leslie in his work in this city and its vicinity. The two brothers employed by Bro. Gary and who yet continue to labour are Wm. Helm and J. L. Parrish besides I have just engaged two others John McKinney and James O. Rayner. *Josiah L. Parrish* lives at the Institute and has charge of the Yamhill circuit. He is a Local Deacon from the bounds of the Genesee conference and came here as a secular member of the mission 1849. His family consists of himself, wife, and three children two under 14 years and over 7 and one under 7 years of age; his circuit was reported last year to have 135 members in Society but no Sabbath Schools. *Broth J. O. Rayner* is appointed to labour with him he is a young man 23 years of age of vigerous health and so far as we can ascertain possesses such gifts and graces as will render him useful to the Church. He traveled two years in the Iowa Conference. Six months under the P. E. [Presiding Elder] and about 18 months on trial when he was permitted by the proper authorities to come to this country chiefly on account of his health, he came in the last emigration and is well recommended having the certificate of his standing as a local preacher from the preacher in charge of the circuit on which he traveled.

Wm. Helm is appointed to the Calapoya circuit which comprises the tract of country above the Santi Am on the east and the Rickreal on the west side of the Walamet river he expects to reside on the circuit. His family consists of him-

⁵ Santiam river, written by some during early days as "Santa Ana" or called "Santa Ann's Fork."

self, wife, with five children who reside at home one over 14—3 under 14 and over 7 and one under 7 years of age.

Bro. John McKinney is appointed to labour with *Bro. Helm* he is a married man who leaving his family in Missouri came through in the last emigration with his son to explore the country and make arrangements to bring his family. He expects to return to his family in the spring of 1849. *Bro. McKinney* is a local deacon of good report and it is thought will be useful on his circuit. You will perceive that our work is enlarged considerably and while wars and rumors of wars are all around us we are striving to endure hardness as good soldiers of the Lord Jesus. In addition to the above we have sixteen Local preachers one of whom is a Deacon and six exhorters. If we were all holy men of God labouring as faithfully for Christ as once we did for Satan and as industriously as our obligations to his dying love imperiously demand a flame of piety would be kindled in this valley that would burn with Millennial Glory, But it is to be feared we are not. I have some reason to suspect that the Methodism of this country is not in every respect the Methodism of the discipline. Still there are a number of faithful labourers in the country both in the Local as well as in the traveling ministry and many among our members adorn the doctrine of God our Savior.

The amount of labour performed by our Missionaries may be indicated in part by a glance at the extent of our work. At the present time this is confined to the Walamet valley and extends from Vancouver on the Columbia to the extreme upper settlement here are included within this district Oregon City, Salem, Yamhill, and the Calapooya circuits.

Oregon City has a population of nearly 1000 persons there are 185 houses, with two churches, one Methodist one Catholic, two flouring mills, and two saw mills; about two miles distant there is quite a little village springing up on the Clackamus river which empties into the Walamet just below the city. Twelve miles below is the little town of Portland just springing into existence. It is about the head of ship navigation. We have not been able this winter to supply this place with preaching. About 25 miles west of [Oregon] City there are a number of beautiful prairies, Tualatine plains, in these fertile plains quite a population is collected and some 4 or 5 years ago we had regular preaching in a log building erected for the purpose but since that time occasional visits

very few and far between are all the people have received at our hand. In 8 months I have only paid them one visit since the annual meeting the place is included in the Yamhill circuit, and we hope to furnish the people with stated pastoral labour.

The Salem circuit receives its name from the town of Salem which just rising into notice at the Oregon Institute. It is 50 miles above this city on the east bank of the Walamet river the situation is beautiful and many suppose it will become quite a city in a very few years. Directly on a line between Salem and this city and about thirty miles from here lies what is called the French Settlement peopled chiefly by Canadian speaking French and all holding to the Catholic church. They occupy a fine district of country beautiful indeed to behold but so far as the prospects for successful labour is concerned excepting here and there a solitary emigrant as barren as an Arabian desert. In the extreme lower part of this settlement we have had two appointments the past winter the congregations have been small. Above the Institute and laying on and between the Santiam and the Calapooya river there is a tract of country exceeded by nothing I ever saw in the Eden spots of California either for beauty or fertility in this district has several appointments.

The Yamhill circuit lays between Walamit and the coast range of mountains and includes the Tualatine Plains, Chehalam, Yam Hill, and Rickeral, an extent of country some 75 miles in length and varying in breadth with the meanderings of the river and the encroachment of spurs jutting out from the coast range of mountains. The Calapooya circuit formed at our last annual meeting occupies both sides of the Walamet from the Santi Am and Rickreal to the upper settlement in the valley. The preaching done in this country up to this time has been chiefly on the Sabbath day and it may be proper to indicate farther the labours of your Missionaries by alluding briefly to some of The Embasements under which they labour.

I am not about to speak of Romanism altho that Exists and has some influence here with all its machinery of Bishops & Bells archbishops & nuns Priests & ceremonies and is ready to compass sea and land if not to make proselytes to edify the faithful and convert the Indians. What connexion it has had with the fearful tragedy at Waiilatpu will be seen at the Judgment if never known before. Nor yet of Campbellism

altho that abounds and stationing itself along the line of our numerous waters calls loudly for subjects to wash away their sins in its laver of Baptismal regeneration which is of such mighty efficacy as almost to do without the "renewing of the holy Ghost" but what I refer to chiefly is peculiar to new settled countries such as: *The Scattered state of the population.* It was estimated that their was a population of 8000 in the country previous to the arrival of the last Emigration which of itself amounted to from three to five thousand but the difficulty is to find them. The arrangement of our provisional government by which a person under conditions can secure a mile square of Land tends directly to distribute the people all over the country and opperates most prejudicially against the gathering of any considerable congregation in any one place our only recourse is to go from one cabin to another through prairie and forest which is a slow proresss requiring more time and men and shall I add grace than we have at present. Add to this the almost impassible STATE OF THE ROADS DURING THE RAINY SEASONS. We have as yet very few bridges and the crossing of many of the streams is perilous and often impossible. Some of the slough's are as mire'y as that of despond into which if Bunyan's *pliable* ever gets he is likely after a desperate struggle or two to get out of the mire on that side which is nearest to his own house.

Another difficulty is the want of food for horses especially in the winter season in most cases after a hard days travel they must be hobbled or staked out or turned loose altogether to hunt their scanty fare of grass for hay or oats are seldom to be had and corn is out of the question. If we turn our horses loose when we are on our journey we cannot get them without much trouble and if we do not our excursions must be short and hurried and the weary starving animals must be turned out on our return to recruit for a few weeks and another secured for the following trip. Untill the people generally give attention to raising fodder for horses so that we may have some other dependence than the wild grasses of the country each preacher must keep three or 4 horses and spend no small amount of time in hunting them when they are needed. The present war opperates unfavourably on the public mind so far as piety is concerned. To say nothing of the demoralizing tendency of war at all times. The employment of so many men and means including some of our members call-

ing them away from their homes and families cannot but cripple our operations in some parts of our work. There is nothing in any of these embarrasments that tends in the least to quench the zeal or dampen the ardor of any of the members of the Mission our resources are greater than our difficulties there is before us an abundant harvest and altho we would rejoice to have a share in gathering it as well as breaking up the ground and sowing the precious seed still we shall rejoice even if that is done by others who shall come after us when we are gone to our reward in Heaven. In addition to the above mentioned members there is a class of 13 members recently formed at Vancouver and 7 members in the Twalatine plains So that our Statistics are as follows:

	Members	L. Prea.	L. Dea.	Sunday Schools	O. & Teach.	Scho'lars
Oregon City & Clackamus	47	2	..	1	10	60
Salem	115	..	1	2	9	48
Yamhill	135	8	..	..	..	..
Vancouver	13	..	..	..	..	..
Twalatine Plains... 7	7	..	..	..	..	..
	<hr/> 317	<hr/> 10	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 3	<hr/> 19	<hr/> 108

Vol. Library

150

150

300

I have no means to ascertain the increase during the year but suppose our numbers to be nearly double what they were a year ago. Nor can I state with much positiveness the number of conversions. I am acquainted however with the case of 31 persons who have professed a change of heart since the first of July last including a few cases of backsliders who have been reclaimed.

The school kept in the Oregon Institute was deprived of a teacher recently by the illness of Mr. Joseph Smith who has had charge of it for several months past. He is not expected to recover, we were called into his room to see him die as it was supposed his hour was come, it was an hour of triumph. The power of divine grace was gloriously manifested and this is another of the numerous instances of in which persons who have come to this country ignorant of God and Salvation have

been brought to the knowledge of the truth by the instrumentality of the Oregon Mission. Two of our members have recently departed this life, Capt. Brown and Sister Howell, both suddenly and both in holy peaceful triumph.

I deem it a matter of great importance to keep the school above mentioned in Efficient operation. For the time being it is placed under the superintendence of Bro. Wilber with his daughter Elisabeth as teacher untill a competent male teacher can be secured. I have some hope of securing the services of a gentleman who came in the last emigration and who taught for some time in Virginia. But it is essential to the prosperity of the institution and of our church as Identified with education in Oregon to have a competent person sent from the States and sustained so far as need be by the board and for the honor of the church and the good of souls may it be done quickly.

In the special instructions communicated by you at the time of Embarkation for this country I was requested to enquire whether the Oregon Institute can be transferred to the Mission and if so on what terms can such transfer be made." The correspondence on this subject I now lay before you, and as their is not the least embarasment in the way it is presumable the board will act accordingly. About the last of March a government vessel arrived the "Anita" in the River direct from California by her we received some letters and papers more than half the Nos. are missing and of the C. [Christian] Advocate their was but one solitary number, where they are we know not but suppose them to have been left at California. The [Anita] sailed from San Francisco 24 hours after the Sweden arrived and in the hurry perhaps some of the male [mail] was left. It is a question of vital importance here as to whether we have an interest in the prayers and sympathies of the church at home ours is a work of privation and toil of difficulty and danger of weariness and want. But the grace of God which is exceeding abundant toward us in answer to the suplications of the church at home can make this a pleasant employment let us have this and we will work contented and cheerful but withhold this and some of us will soon ask to be released. I am satisfied since we have been in the country we have had many deliverences and enjoyed many precious consolations in answer to the petitions of Gods people. There has been some sickness in some of our families Broth. Waller's

children have had the measles and his eldest son was at the point of death. They have all recovered each of our boys and myself have been attacked with the fever, my illness was only a few hours, and theirs of but a few days continuence. Two afflictions have prevailed the Measles and a species of low typhus fever known in the west as the winter fever and on the road as the camp fever. Both are contagious not in the same sense nor to the same extent but still both brought in by the emigration and spread over the country wherever they have gone. In my letters Via Canada I mentioned that Mr. Ogden of the Hudson Bay Company had succeeded in purchasing the persons held in captivity by the Indians including the families of Mr. Spalding & Mr. Osborn with the women and orphan children and had all (amounting to 51 Persons) arrived in safety. The treatment of the captive women was horrible tho their lives were spared. Mr. Spalding has gone to the Twalatine plains and the orphans are placed in families where they will be well taken care of. We have [not] heard from Messrs. Walker & Eells up to the last account they had concluded to remain at their post. Altho fears may well be entertained for their safty. Our war continues. Col. Gilliam was shot by accident and the chief command now devolves on Col. Lee. The Governor has just issued proclamation for 300 more volunteers and while I am writing troops of horsemen coparisoned for Indian warfare are passing by my window while now and then a wounded man is seen patiently waiting for returning health that he may return and again renew the deadly strife. Up to this time it is not known that one of the murderers has been killed but it is almost certain that terrible vengeance awaits them. I shall present the fiscal state of the Mission in another letter. Indulging the hope that the dark cloud which has lowered over us with such threatening aspect may give way to the bright sunshine of peace and prosperity, I am, Dear Bro.

Yours in Christ,

Wm. Roberts.

Rev. Dr. Pitman, Cors. Sec. &c.

Extract of letter to G. Gary.⁶

Salem, Octo. 26th, 1848.

"There is a little business affair to which I desire you to reply early as possible, it is the transfer of 10 acres of the

⁶ George Gary, D. D., the second superintendent of the Oregon Missions.

Parsonage reserve to Bro. Craft for 10 acres of land in the rear.

I am sorry to find this business in its present position. About a month ago I called the committee which they say you appointed together and enquired First. Are there any papers whatever either from Bro. Gary or any one else in relation to this matter? It was answered *No*. Second. Is the transfer finished or is it expected that I in any way yet have it to do? Ans. It is not finished the property is not surveyed. No writings have passed. A committee was appointed by Bro. Gary to confer with Bro. Craft to select or allow him to select a site for a taw yard. A site was selected. Bro. Craft now occupied it &C &C. And third. Is the lot which he is to give in Exchange now or was it at the time anything like an equivalent? Ans. *No*, by all the committee.

After some considerable reflection I came to the conclusion that I would not do anything in the affair until I recd word from you communicating definitely your understanding and intention with regard to the matter. My reasons are these. I dislike exceedingly these *traditionary* affairs, and especially in the conveyance of property. It is an unfinished, unsettled concern. There was time enough from April or May to August to settle it. It mutilates and spoils the 100 acres by takeing a quadrangular piece out of the middle (see diagram) and receives a poor almost worthless, irregular shaped lot in return. The following is about the state of the case. Tho possible the exchange piece may be much more irregular than I have represented it. Now poor as the bargain is and much as the property is spoiled thereby! I should consummate the affair at once. If there was any writing whatever giving me to understand that you understood the arrangement.

If you did understand it then you intended a donation or at least a favor for which you had good and sufficient reasons no doubt. And I never should object. But then you must really do the business or shew me that you engaged to do it. In which case I am of course under obligation.

Favors could not be bestowed on a more worthy Bro. than Bro. Craft. But I must not lengthen out my detail. There is no misunderstanding between Bro. Craft and myself, and tho he regrets the business was not finished, will wait patiently, until you communicate fully on the subject. If Bro. Leslie ever gave it as his opinion that the parsonage would lose nothing by the exchange he is now of a different opinion."

(Copy)

(Private)

Salem, Or. T., Feb. 14, 1849.

TO THE COR SEC & C

Dear Bro.: It is proper to express a few thoughts on some points less adapted to the public eye than those in the accompanying letters. There is a strong propability I think that the people of this country will be better able to pay something towards the support of the gospel shortly than they have been. Some of them are returning from the mines with some quantities of gold. I think 250 person in all have come in on the 5 ships now in the river, and perhaps they will average \$1500 apiece in gold dust their success varies from \$100 to \$5000.

Most of those who have come home this winter will go again in the spring; the people are in a most unsettled state still I hope they may be induced to contribute towards the support of the gospel. I am greatly perplexed with one embarasment in Oregon. It is the preachers liveing away from their circuits; how to remedy this is not easy for me to see. I have said everything against it possible.

Bros. Helm, Waller, and Parrish are on their own premises, while their own houses and circuits are together, it may not be so objectionable, but when conference comes it trammels the appointments, in fact it works here just as it does at home.

I never did believe in Itenerant preachers having Local families and my submission to it in Oregon is with a very poor grace, but the country is new—there are very few schools and but two parsonages. My idea is on every circuit let the preacher go and live, if no house can be had otherwise let him build one with such help as the people can be induced to give and the mission funds do the rest. Then let there be a barn and garden and if need be (and we cannot do without it) a few acres put in oats. Then whatever time the preacher spends in work at home at house or fence or garden or pasture it is directly promoting the work of the Itinerancy and not for private personal interest. So that very shortly the whole country completely covered with a net work of circuits, will be ready for the somewhat comfortable occupancy of the pastors of the people living among them, and then the swollen river and violent storm will seldom or never get between the preacher and his work.

But then this plan contemplates the entire consecration of

the preacher to his work, and of course an entire support from the Gospel. Bro. Wallar is thus entirely supported, perhaps Bros. Parrish and Helm receiving \$450. each, would think they are not. Bro. Wallar now lives on his circuit. But suppose it were necessary for him to go to Mary's river next year—The nearest appointment would be 20 miles from his place of residence, and much of his time must be spent away from either his family or his charge. When I conversed with him he gave the following reasons among others. He has been at the Dalles 3 years, outside of all civilization, has had no advantages of school for his children since he has been in the country, and now desires to place his 5 children close by a school for a little time where they may be educated for God and his church.

He adds this was the course substantially advised by Bro. Gary and that when he thus gets his family so they can be comfortable that he can attend to his work better, spending more hours in labouring among the people, than if he were to move from circuit to circuit leaving his children without school, family without comfortable quarters exposed as they must be in the Country at present. There is a force in these reasons which you cannot feel so powerfully as myself. I know of no better plan than to urge the principle that every man to live in and about his work and then if exceptions occur, why, endure them as best you can.

If you can relieve this question by further instructions or advice please furnish it forth with. Farther thoughts in relation to this matter in the Annual Report which must be forthcoming shortly.

It will doubtless be desirable to the Board to know how nearly the support estimated by their committee accomplishes its object. I heard Bro. Wilbur remark a few days since that circumstanced as he now is, he can get along quite comfortably indeed with the amount appropriated to him. Bro. Wallar says there is no proper proportion between his support and that of others. (Say Bro. Wilbur.) The latter receives \$600 having one child (i. e. a daughter aged 16). The former receives \$688. with a family of 5 children 1 under 7 the other 4 over 7 but under 14. This is very disproportionate, were the support exceedingly ample I would say nothing about the disproportion, but it is not and I advise the board to revise the estimate and bear in mind that children eat as well as

grown people. So that while \$88. may pay the salary of 4 children it *furnishes nothing for table expenses at all*. I of course refer to the estimate of Octo. 46 for I know of nothing later. Bro. Leslie is doing fairly I think for support, though he was a little involved last year. Owing to some business arrangements of *other years* which involved him somewhat in debt. As to myself I desire to say I have just footed up my bills since I have been in the country and find that up to this time I am worse off in finances than I was at home, and am likely to be so unless the Board shall make such appropriations as will raise the allowance to the neighborhood of — per annum from July 1st, 1847, to the present time. I am doing but one work every energy is consecrated to it. It burdens me with solicitude for it[s] prosperity in its various departments, I am left with but little time to attend to the affairs of my family. And I am sure It is at once the WISH and policy of this Board to keep me above every anxiety and burdensome care with respect to personal support. The above remarks would not be made were they not necessary and I was not aware until a few days past but that the allowance was sufficiently ample. If at any time it should occur to you that the disproportion is too great between the supt. and other brethren the data can be immediately forth coming which renders it necessary. He ought to keep from 6 to 10 horses, waggon, harness and all travelling gear in this country is immensely high and difficult to get and soon wears out. All these extras above what any of the brethren require for the ordinary work you may say might belong to the mission and be chargeable to Expense a/c. So I thought for a time but I find it best to have little or nothing belonging to the Mission. Whenever it is possible let every thing belong either to the Mission or myself and there is much less danger of loss or difficulty. 2 of my horses are lost and the remaining six could not be replaced for \$500. But enough of this for the present. How would it do for you to get up an Edition of the Methodist almanac for Oregon City perhaps also if you find a copy of ours for 1848. There is none likely to be published here at present and if it would cost but little, to get it up, I think a small edition of from 200 to 300 Copies might be sold say @ 10c. It may not be adviseable if there would be much expense involved but if it could be done cheaply there might be some good accomplished by the arrangement. Can you tell if

the gold discovered in California will induce the Merchants to send goods largely to Oregon? If you are not sure that a supply will be sent at once, then there remains no alternative but for the Mis. Board to ship here soon as possible almost every article needed by the 6 or 7 families and 3 or 4 single men now in the employ of the mission for wearing apparel. Not a Blanket, or Kettle or tin pan, or pair of boots, or strong coat or pants or hat fit to wear or pound of Sal Eratus or tea can be bought anywhere in the territory that I know of at any price. A few lbs sugar, some Manilla coffee, a little rotten sewing silk &c yet remain, but I suppose the sugar crop is neglected at the Islands and if raised the ships are otherwise employed. Oh if we could but hear from you once more then the hope of relief might spring up.

The Advocates sent to this country with my other papers seem to be rummaged or pillaged so that every file is broken, and incomplete and then what is the matter in the clerk's department in the forwarding office. Until nearly the last Nos papers were sent to J. and D. Lee, Shepherd &c then those were stopt, and Bros. Leslies and Wilbur's papers also. Please correct this and if there is to be a regular communication for papers as well as letters, let us have say 50 copies of the Advocate to begin with, all sent to one address and we will endeavor to distribute them and forward the pay for those not taken by the preachers as soon as possible.

The brethren laboring here under the auspices of the American Board desire to return to our hands the Dalles Station. They cannot occupy it or their own either at present, and as their losses are enormously heavy, they wish to lessen them by returning this property. They were to pay a little over \$600 and my conclusions on the subject are as follows. If the station is ever again to be occupied we can man it better than they. If it is not and the property is to be a total loss it is not much, and I think Brotherly kindness will be promoted by our promptly relieving them of the obligation in view of their broken up condition: And if the establishment is sold to government or to some private person, it will bring three times as much in which case we not they ought to have the advantage. So I have said I see no objection to receiving it with the understanding that they make good any property they may have appropriated and we will look to the government for any damage done by the Indians or troops during the war. The troops

took down the barn and made a stockade fort and when the U. S. Gov. comes doubtless it will be wanted for a military station. The business is not yet consummated and I could have wished counsel before acting in the case. But it is one of those plain cases which did not admit of the delay necessary to obtain such counsel and I must therefore act according to the light I have trusting the Board will approve. The Papists have settled a mile or two off the premises, and some day would be accessory to the murder sooner or later of any Protestants who might tenant the station. But when once the jurisdiction of the U. S. Gov. is extended here no fear of Papists should ever keep me one hour from going or sending men to labor there if no other reasons existed.

They now infest every part of the upper country despite the prohibition of our Prov. Gov. and when that prohibition is removed I purpose visiting the Station if not called away to California, and any interference with our property by them will be laid before the proper authorities. Such visit in company with Bro. Wallar will enable me to form some more enlightened opinion as to the state of the Indians in the Upper Country, and as to the question whether their final abandonment by all Protestant Missionaries is really unavoidable. You will know much sooner than we can what are the intentions of the American Board and will be prepared to give some counsel with regard to the question.

The Indians have been severely rebuked for the murders committed and will not be likely to misbehave in future. I am sorry in my heart that we can hear of nothing which you have done for California. Others are now on the ground before us after all. A Mr. Hunt from the Islands went to San Francisco last fall, and the people made him up a salary of \$2500. for one year. So he is now their chaplain.

I cannot resist the conviction that our movements are *inexcuseably slow and dilatory*. I yet hope some of these days to receive intelligence that the Board has acted with great promptness and all that spontaniety of fear which the case called for.

There have been so many sources from which I expected to get advices that I have not dared to move a step from my own work here, lest they should come in my absence and thus time be lost, and withal our hands are filled with work here else I should have gone down the coast and preached at the Bay of San Francisco myself.

We are often enquired of by aged persons for spectacles to enable them to read the Bible. There is none to be had in Oregon. I think it within the range of doing good, to request you to send two or three dozen pair of common ones suitable for persons from middle age and onward, it will be a blessing to many. Many persons enquire of us for books. They hear of the libraries of the A. T. Soc. and of the Harpers & C and they wish to send money by us to buy some of these Libraries. Now we tell them we have libraries and books of the very best kind, and cheap too and moreover that we will have some brought out to this country soon as possible. Can you help us redeem this pledge. The only plan I know of is this. By this time you have the general Catalogus so classified as that, Family Libraries or select books calculated to enlighten the mind and sanctify the heart are set apart in Libraries for social and family use. Now Sir select a little lot of them worth at least \$500. and let the Board send them to us to sell at cost. It will be a losing matter so far as money is concerned but great gain in every other respect. Perhaps I ought to suggest a thought in reference to boxes. In every case where the article will admit of it send us our things in barrels or moderate sized casks with iron hoops seldom in boxes and never in large boxes at all and let them be made and packed so as to hold the largest amt. of goods with a measurement of the smallest no of inches. Transportation here is very difficult and large boxes or casks are unmanageable. But time fails. If my letters are full of the expressions of want and necessity they will doubtless meet the expectation of a body of men whose very existance was designed to supply them. I rejoice the mercy seat above is not so distant nor inaccessible either as our Board at home and as our spiritual necessities and supplied most abundantly by our Father in heaven doubtless you will contribute to the supply of our temporal necessities, with such counsel and advice as you may deem proper.

I am D. B. Yours in Christ,

W. Roberts.

Ex—to E. S. Johnston Feb. 12 1849

Shawl for Hannah, Woolen Plaid 1 whole or two half pieces.
2 or 3 dozen Picket knives Phlegen. Water Proof cloth 6 to 10 yds, white hat $3\frac{1}{2}$ brim 5 or $5\frac{1}{4}$ high $22\frac{3}{8}$ circumference.
Revolver 12 inches pair of Holsters with Pistols smooth bore, flint lock & saddle for Mrs. Roberts.

To the Revd Messrs H. H. Spalding E. Walker and C. Ells.

Dear Brethren: Your proposal of the 3 Inst. to retransfer the Mission station at Wascopam near the Grand Dalls of the C.[olumbia] River to the Oregon Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church was recd. by the hands of Bro. Eells.

I take the earliest opportunity to say that the offer is hereby accepted according to the terms of the proposal.

With sentiments of great respect, I am Dear Brethren,

Yours in Christ,

Wm. Roberts,

Salem March 13th 1849

Sup. O. M.

Salem O. T. April 11th 1849.

Rev & Dear Bro.:

I recd yesterday a letter from W. W. Jones by order of your Conference in answer to one I sent some months since to Bro I Green in relation to J. G. T. Dunleavey with the request that his credentials be forwarded to you to be filed with the papers of the Conference. You will therefore receive them enclosed in this sheet. All that I recd which includes parchments liscence to preach, exhort and Testimony of official standing from his Pre[siding] E[lder] when he left Mo. I am interested in this man and have some hope rather "*forlorn*" to be sure, that he may yet be saved. He resides near Santa Cruz in upper California and talks of coming to Oregon. Could we be permitted here to surround him with the priveleges and checks of gospel influence we should hope to "convert the Sinner from the Error of his ways and hide a multitude of sins."

I am Dear Bro.

Yours in Christ,

*To Rev Jno R. Bennete
Lexington, MO.*

W. R.

REVIEW

Pacific Northwest Americana. A Checklist of Books and Pamphlets Relating to the History of the Pacific Northwest.

Compiled by

CHARLES W. SMITH,

Associate Librarian, University of Washington

Second edition, revised and enlarged. (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. London: Grafton & Company.) Pp. XI, 329. 1921.

The new edition of the "Pacific Northwest Americana; a checklist of books and pamphlets relating to the Pacific Northwest," the most ambitious co-operative project so far undertaken by the Pacific Northwest Library Association, justifies our expectation of its increased value; both on account of its more permanent form and its larger size.

There are some changes in the list of contributors. Montana State Library, Pacific University Library and State College of Washington have withdrawn, although unique items in these libraries have been retained from the old edition. The checklist has been greatly strengthened by the addition of five new libraries: University of British Columbia, Oregon Historical Society, Oregon State Library, and the public libraries of Boise and Tacoma. This makes a total of fifteen co-operating libraries.

Neither the larger number of contributing libraries, nor the numerical increase in the items (two and a half times as many as the old list) is an index of the real gain in titles and in completeness, since many titles and imprints have been omitted on account of closer limitations of the scope of the work, and entries for serials have been condensed. Without doubt the Oregon Historical Society is the most important of the new contributors, both from the number of items and their rarity. All the libraries previously co-operating have added much valuable material and have listed items in their collections which they had not had time to list for the earlier edition. Perhaps the most notable of these additions are those of the Provincial Library of British Columbia, only a small

part of whose valuable collection of voyages of discovery to the Northwest Coast, and of material on British Columbia was listed before. On account of the necessary limitation of this checklist to printed material, both of these libraries are inadequately represented in the checklist even now, as the Provincial Library contains the archives of British Columbia, with extremely important Hudson's Bay Company material, and the chief treasures of the Oregon Historical Society's Library are the manuscript journals and letters of early pioneers. The Oregon Historical Society has also some exceedingly valuable pamphlet collections which it seemed impracticable to list by the individual pamphlet and so they are shown only as collections.

The physical appearance of the checklist is quite different from the old edition as it has assumed the dignity of a bound volume and its convenience for use is increased by having half of the page left blank for notes and additions.

In general the plan is much the same as in the earlier edition, though there are some changes in detail. As the preface states "it includes descriptive material relating to the history of the region lying north of California and west of the Rocky Mountains The word history has been used in the broadest sense including a wide range of literature bearing upon the region."

There are certain definite policies of limitation and exclusion which account for what might otherwise be considered serious defects and omissions. It is limited to printed material in the co-operating libraries and therefore cannot be expected to be a complete bibliography of the region. The date Jan. 1, 1920, has been definitely set, beyond which nothing has been included. This makes it necessary to leave out valuable books published or purchased after that time. The geographical area is more carefully defined than in the former edition so that some important items like Taché and Zebulon Pike do not appear. Fewer analyses of long sets are made in this but the

series with inclusive volumes and dates are given. Definite classes of material are omitted, as follows:

(a) Manuscripts.

(b) Federal, state and city documents with the exception of a few rare items of great historical importance, not easily found in the readily available lists and indexes.

(c) "Periodicals published in the region, except those devoted mainly or wholly to history. Serials, however, as year-books and publications of societies have been included as a part of the institutional history of the Pacific Northwest."

(d) "Maps, except those independently issued and bound in book form."

Even of the material included in general, there has been more rigid limitation, in order to keep the checklist within reasonable bounds. For example, directories published after 1900 are omitted; some of the more recent advertising material is excluded; different imprints of the same book are left out unless they are definitely different editions.

The checklist has both the advantage and disadvantages of a co-operative undertaking. It is already proving its usefulness to the research worker by indicating in just which libraries books and editions are available. Even though limited to printed items in these few libraries, it is quite a full bibliography of the important works dealing with this region and will prove especially valuable to libraries as a buying list. We find that individual collectors are referring to it also.

A defect inseparable from co-operative undertakings is that each library probably contains many items listed but not credited to that library. This difficulty arises in various ways. A library having a strong collection rates as unimportant items which are of a great deal of value in a smaller library. Again, the understanding of the limitations of the scope of the work unavoidably differs with the individual and one will list material which to another seems outside the range of work. An example of this is the *Bulletins of the U. S. Geological Survey*, some of which are listed in only one or two libraries while they are probably in every library. Still another reason is

that most of the libraries limit their collection to a definite part of the territory covered and have not listed fully their resources for the other parts.

Another disadvantage, also unavoidable in a co-operative undertaking, is that one library lists a work in one way, another in a different way. The compiler has caught many of these but a few have escaped. An instance is "Funeral services in memory of Mrs. M. F. Eells" which is entered both under the title and also under Atkinson, G. H.; another is Oregon Baptist State Convention which also appears as Baptist State Convention. The greatest trouble of this sort is in having government publications entered both under the country and the individual author, as happens occasionally.

When work of this sort is finished, one always finds omissions, and this is no exception to the rule. The greatest lack seems to be general works that libraries want for other purposes than simply local collections. For instance, Polk's Diary is not included, nor is the comparatively recent edition of Buchanan's Works, both of which must be in several of the libraries, and both of which are important for this country. Typographical errors seem rare. In two cases the author's name has been omitted,—one on page 200, where the History of the Pacific Northwest should be credited to the North Pacific Coast History Co., the other on page 28 where Samuel Bowles has been left out and "Across the continent" and "Our New West" seems to be written by Bower, mistakes evidently due to the printer after the final proof reading.

It seems to the reviewer that still more state and city, especially city, documents might be left out to advantage, as the list is not sufficiently complete to be very helpful as a document checklist and it seems rather misleading to have a few years of these, with no means of telling what should be the complete file. It seems, in occasional instances, that even more explanatory notes would be helpful.

It is in general a careful piece of work and promises to be

very useful for the libraries of this district. The comment of the Boston Transcript upon the 1909 edition, two years ago: "That work still remains the most substantial bibliography of its kind," is even more true of this edition.

E. RUTH ROCKWOOD.



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ORGANIZED DECEMBER 17, 1898

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(Reprinted from Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society)

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OFFICIAL LOG OF THE COLUMBIA

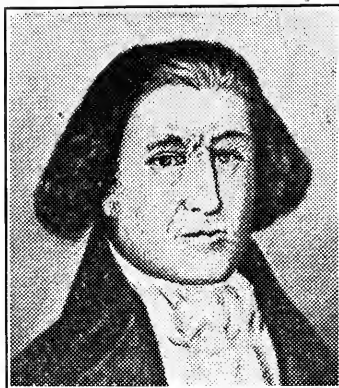
Covering Capt. Robt. Gray's Discovery of Gray's Harbor and Entry and
Naming of the Columbia River

Annotations by *T. C. Elliott*

What Doctor Marcus Whitman in Person Requested at Boston
on March 30, 1843

PRICE: FIFTY CENTS PER NUMBER, TWO DOLLARS PER YEAR

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CAPTAIN ROBERT GRAY



SHIP COLUMBIA

May 11, 1792, Captain Gray, in command of the ship "Columbia," sailed into the Columbia River and anchored a short distance from what is now known as Chinook Point, opposite Astoria. He named the river after his vessel. The "Columbia" was built near Boston in 1773 and was broken to pieces in 1801. It was the first vessel to carry the Stars and Stripes around the world. It is believed this was the original flag made by Mrs. Betsy Ross, according to the design adopted by Congress on June 14, 1777. Taken from the photograph of a large oil painting by an eastern artist for C. S. Jackson, publisher of the Oregon Daily Journal, and used for the first time in a Souvenir Edition of that paper in 1905. The photograph was presented to the Portland Press Club.

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JOHN BOIT'S LOG OF THE COLUMBIA—1790-1793

INTRODUCTION

The Massachusetts Historical Society early in 1919 received as a bequest from Robert Apthorpe Boit the journals and log-books of his grandfather, John Boit. Among these was a journal kept of the *Columbia's* second voyage from Boston to the northwest coast of America for the collection of furs from the Indians for the markets of China. The *Columbia's* first voyage is memorable as the first circumnavigation of the globe by an American ship. Captain Robert Gray was in command of the vessel on this first voyage from the time of her departure from the northwest coast to China and retained command throughout the second voyage. This second voyage of which the Boit journal gives an account outshines the first in renown through the fact that in course of it the Columbia river was first entered and was named for the vessel.

Not only thus is the Boit journal a record of probably the most memorable of American voyages but it is also unique in being the only record extant of this voyage as a whole. And of none of the parallel voyages in these furtrading activities of this period by Americans is there a similar complete record. Of the official log of the *Columbia* only a remnant is preserved, covering the days from May 7th (1792) to May 21st, or from the time Gray first approached the entrance to Gray's harbor, to be discovered and by him named Bulfinch harbor, to his return to that vicinity after having entered and named the Columbia river. This portion of the official log is reprinted in this number of the Quarterly with the Boit document.

This journal of John Boit was published in volume 53 of The Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. That portion of it recording the movements of the *Columbia* while on this coast was reprinted in The Washington Historical Quarterly, volume XII, No. I. The Oregon Historical Society would here express highest appreciation of the courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society in granting it the privilege of reprinting this document. To the Washington State University Historical Society it is indebted for the use of the annotations made by Professor Edmond S. Meany in his reprint. The items of bibliography in Professor Meany's Introduction are exceedingly valuable.

The considerations that compel the reprinting complete of the Boit log of the *Columbia* in the Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society are connected primarily with the specially planned annotations with which it here appears. And the command of this source record as a whole enables us also more easily to see the wider relations and meaning of this voyage and thus to connect the flow of our Pacific northwest history with the currents of the world's greatest movements. This document contains the record of a close inspection of this coast line through two summers by an experienced navigator spying out opportunities for trade with the native tribes. The *Columbia* passed up and down the stretch of coast from Cape Blanco at about the 43d parallel to the 55th parallel and beyond, covering a large portion of it half-a-dozen times and nearly all of it as many as four times. This log registers the latitude and longitude from observations taken regularly of the vessel's position. Through annotations on the entries of such a record that utilize critically all the sources of light from other MS. and printed records of exploration available, this document becomes the best guiding clue through the somewhat labyrinthine confusion necessarily created by the conditions under which these sources of the exploration history of the Pacific Northwest were produced. Both the region to be explored and the combination of explorers participating were factors in creating this confusion. The intricacy of the coast line indentations north of the Straits of Juan de Fuca and the

multitudinous island groups constituted a veritable labyrinth of passages to be defined. Then representatives of four or five different nationalities simultaneously and without concert participated in effecting the exploration. That such materials of history may enter into the lives of a people they needs must be sublimated and vitalized. Adequate annotation is the first step toward this end.

Through the Boit log we have for the first time a view of this historic voyage as a unit. We are in position, therefore, to get more completely the meaning of it. But this meaning and the import of the record cannot be satisfactorily grasped unless the situation under which the *Columbia* participated in this work of exploration is clearly visualized. To get this background it is necessary to note the transformation wrought during the last quarter of the 18th century in the geography of northwest America, affecting nearly if not quite one-fourth of the continent. The typical map of this part of North America at the opening of the fourth quarter of that century represented an inland sea as occupying a goodly share of the lower portion of this region and two or three wide straits cutting diagonally across the upper part. The actors in this transformation scene were to approach independently from the landward and the seaward sides. Alexander Mackenzie played almost the sole rôle during this period in the exploration on land from the east. The Mackenzie river, the Peace river and portions of the Fraser and other rivers were placed on the map. From the side of the sea the participating personnel included illustrious representatives of four leading nations but Robert Gray through entering the Columbia on this second voyage won the highest honor. Through such cooperation the salient features of the interior and the coast line of northwest America were defined, named and mapped.

By following now a little more in detail the development of this quarter of a century of exploration from the seaward side we get the stage setting for Robert Gray's achievement. The Spanish authorities with newly established outposts as far north as San Francisco Bay were first on the scene. Reports of advances down the coast from the Alaskan region by

Russian explorers as well as anxiety about possible use of a supposed northwest passage incited the Spaniards to activity in exploration beginning in 1774. In the next few years under Perez, Heceta and Cuadra a cursory inspection of the coast was made from the 55th parallel south. No Russian trespassers were detected nor was the fabled northwest passage or Straits of Anian discovered. However, Heceta in 1775 did detect evidences of the mouth of a large river in latitude $46^{\circ} 9'$, but did not succeed in entering it. At this time James Cook, the English navigator, was dispelling the darkness that was still hovering over the south Pacific region. On his third voyage of discovery spurred by an offer of Parliament of £20,000 for the discovery of a northwest passage through the continent of North America he passed up along the northwest coast in 1778 and made a landing in Nootka Sound. The immediate and moving outcome of his voyage was the disclosure of the opportunity of riches through trade in sea-otter furs to be secured from the northwest Indians for trifles and marketed in China. Beginning in 1785 the grand rush in this maritime fur trade was on. The flags of half-a-dozen nations were soon in evidence in these waters. Some of the English fur traders took steps looking towards a permanent occupation of the shore at Nootka Sound. This was resented by the Spanish authorities as they had priority in discovery and had occupied the coast, though their post was some 750 miles to the south. Seizures and a diplomatic controversy followed that seriously threatened war between Spain and England in 1790. In the meantime inlets offering means of trade contacts with the Indians were being spied out and visited more and more frequently by vessels plying back and forth and up and down the coast. "In the year 1792, there were twenty-one vessels under different flags," writes Washington Irving, "plying along the coast and trading with the natives." Log books and seamen's journals were kept and reports were made. As they pertained to the affairs of a lucrative trade and some of them had to do with a hot international controversy they were in part preserved and not a few, especially those whose authors had public commissions, and those that had a bearing on disputed

territorial claims, were published. Thus a body of source material was accumulating. This material contains the sources largely of the names of places of this region and constitutes the records of the origins of the communities here developing. History serves its leading purpose through such annals as the cherished home traditions. The richest and best authenticated nuclei of facts with their relations should be segregated and organized for each locality. The annotations on the text of the Boit journal here supplied through selecting the appropriate portions of the other sources conserve and focus all the light available for illuminating the stage of exploration in the history of each locality visited by the *Columbia* during her second voyage, and at the same time furnish the means for a more accurate and complete determination of the background of the voyage as a whole. The Quarterly had the great good fortune of interesting Judge F. W. Howay of New Westminster, British Columbia, in this project of making this prime and recently available source of Pacific Northwest History serve the largest and best purpose. Judge Howay's mastery of northwest history sources, and his large personal acquaintance with the features of the coast line now British territory make his annotations invaluable. Mr. T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, Washington, has been a like indefatigable student of the sources of the history of the coast line south of the Straits of Juan de Fuca. He annotates the entries of the Boit log while the *Columbia* was on this section of the coast on her trading tours. He also contributes the annotations to the remnant of the official log of the *Columbia* still extant.

Turning now to the orientations of this achievement of Captain Robert Gray in connection with the course of world history. The discovery of the Columbia river recorded in the two documents here reprinted completes at the end of a three hundred year period of continuing progress, the full discovery of America which in 1492 Christopher Columbus had initiated. The western continent in its essential features as a home for civilized humanity was now revealed.

In sailing into the Columbia under the American flag Captain Gray brought into the race a new competitor for the

possession of this vast and still unacquired region of the basin of the Columbia. For, in international usage or comity, the discovery of a river carried with it at least an inchoate title to the territory drained by that river. The American people had a zealous and an able exponent for promoting their interests in view of this opening made for national expansion. Thomas Jefferson did not let slip an opportunity to follow up this basis for a claim to this part of the continent. With the purchase of Louisiana in 1803 proximity of possession was secured. Then Lewis and Clark were dispatched so that only fourteen years after Gray's presence in the river they were encamped on the south bank. In less than half-a-dozen years later the Astor expedition had established its fort at Astoria. And at the end of another half-a-dozen years in 1818 the restoration of the American flag was acknowledged by our only rival claimant to this domain.

It needs, however, to be noted that this discovery of the Columbia river with the view of extending geographical knowledge, or of laying the basis for the extension of the jurisdiction of his nation's sovereignty, was not the leading motive impelling Captain Gray in his exploit. Just how far it was in evidence in his consciousness it would be hard to say. Nothing of the kind, I believe, figured in his instructions. This is not by any means arguing that the discovery of the Columbia river was an accident. The *Columbia* was being sailed the third time along this stretch of the coast with the one purpose in mind of finding new inlets affording desired opportunities of new contacts with the Indians that additions might be made to his accumulations of furs for a cargo for the markets of China. John Boit's record of how the vessel in this latitude was kept "beating off the coast waiting for to find a good harbour" and of the practice thus specified: "sent a boat in shore often, but cou'd find no safe harbour," indicate that Gray's determination and skill made the discovery at this time virtually inevitable. Still more closely, negatively, is it possible with the aid of the Boit document to discern Captain Gray's purpose. Mr. Worthington C. Ford's annotation with the original document in hand here comes to our aid. Re-

ferring to the expression: "I landed abreast the ship with Captain Gray to view the Country and take possession, leaving charge with the 2d Officer", Mr. Ford notes, "the words 'and take possession' were inserted at a later time and are in quite different ink". The official log says, "In the afternoon, Captain Gray and Mr. Hoskins, in the jolly-boat went on shore to take a short view of the country." An over-zealous nationalist it seems tampered with the record and made it say what had not been in the mind of Boit to record. As Boit attended Captain Gray in this landing party he would have been enough impressed with the ceremony, had it taken place, to have made a record of it.

In historical literature this voyage has been celebrated as an event initiating a new turn of events politically that was consummated in the establishment of the jurisdiction of the United States over the main portion of the Columbia river basin. This major outcome of this voyage, so far as yet recognized, was an incident or by-product with regard to the purpose contemplated with it. The enterprise of the company of Boston merchants was rather in direct line of evolution of New England's main interests of shipping and cod and whale fisheries during the 18th century. It is quite easy to believe that in line with increasing international interdependence in trade and cooperation for the best utilization of the earth's resources for human purposes this second voyage of the *Columbia* may in time to come have larger meaning as an achievement in the evolution of trade than as an exploit of discovery laying the basis for national territorial expansion. These fur trading ventures to the northwest coast of America were the natural expansion of the New England activities in cod fisheries on the banks of New Foundland and in the whale fisheries in the South Sea. These were the mainstay of New England prosperity. On an Act placing an embargo on these fisheries and restricting the trade they involved did Parliament in 1775 rely "to starve New England." This intent brought forth the following glowing tribute from Edmund Burke to the daring exploits of the American whalers which would have been as well deserved by the fur traders on their more extended voy-

ages in their quite as dangerous experiences with the treacherous native tribes:

“And pray, Sir, what in the world is equal to it? [Referring to “the spirit by which that enterprising employment had been exercised”] Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson’s Bay and Davis’s Straits, whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falklands Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage, and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. . . . No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. No climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood.”

This spirit of enterprise which the *Columbia’s* voyages so signally exemplify has been in eclipse as to this honor it had because of the momentous project of political or territorial expansion it enkindled. When all nationalities have become equally democratic and equally enamored with the mission of human welfare it may be possible that this spirit of human enterprise animating these voyages, now largely unnoticed, may outshine the nationalism that has heretofore enveloped them.

F. G. YOUNG.

REPRINT OF

BOIT'S LOG OF THE COLUMBIA, 1790-1793.

[Annotations by Judge F. W. Howay and Mr. T. C. Elliott]

Remarks on the Ship *Columbia's*
voyage from Boston, (on a Voyage round
the Globe).

By JOHN BOIT

N. B. The dates etc. is by Nautical Account (*Not Civil*).

The Ship *Columbia* was fitted out for a four years cruize, on a trading voyage to the N. W. Coast of America, China etc—about 250 tons burthen, mounted 12 Carriage Guns, and navigated with 50 men (including Officers)—own'd chiefly by Sam'l Brown, Joseph Barrell and Crowell Hatch Esq's, and Commanded by Robert Gray. Cargo consisted of Blue Cloth, Copper and Iron.

1790, *September* 28. Latt. of Boston $42^{\circ} 25' N.$; Long. $70^{\circ} 31' W.$ from London. Left Boston Sept. 28th, 1790, with the wind from the western board, and the next day pass'd Cape Cod. On the 30th the wind having chang'd to the East'd and blowing heavy, obliged us to bear away, and we anchor'd the same evening, in Herring Cove, on the west side Cape Cod, in 15 fm. muddy bottom, but not liking our situation, we got under way the following morning, and anchor'd the same evening in Nantasket Roads, in 7 fm. Blowing weather, from the eastern board.

October 2. Wind at SW. Weigh'd and came to sail, stood to sea. On the 3d pass'd Cape Cod, at 3 leagues distance. Generally blowing hard, with squalls of rain.

8. N. Latt. $40^{\circ} 30'$; W. Long. $55^{\circ} 43'$; Azi. $14^{\circ} 35' W.$ O. C . Ship sails dull, but is a fine seaboat. Crew appears to be a set of fine fellows.

10. N. Latt. $39^{\circ} 58'$; W. Long. $52^{\circ} 38'$; Amp'd $14^{\circ} 38' W.$ ¹ Weather more pleasant, winds generally from SW.

¹ The Century Dictionary defines the amplitude compass as an azimuth compass whose zeros of graduation are at the east and west points, to facilitate the reading of the amplitudes of the celestial bodies. "Amplitude...differs from the azimuth merely in being counted from the east and west points, instead of from north and south." U. K. S. Nat. Phil., III, XIII.—W. C. F. (Worthington C. Ford).

16. N. Latt. $35^{\circ} 37'$; W. Long. $37^{\circ} 31'$; Azi. $14^{\circ} 35'$ W.²
Weather generally pleasant, winds from the NE.

18. N. Latt. $34^{\circ} 33'$; W. Long. $31^{\circ} 40'$; Amp'd $14^{\circ} 22'$ W.
Fair weather, wind from NW.

22. N. Latt. $28^{\circ} 46'$; W. Long. $24^{\circ} 37'$ Azi. $14^{\circ} 54'$ W.
Pleasant weather. Crew all well.

23. N. Latt. $26^{\circ} 41'$; W. Long. $24^{\circ} 16'$; Azi. $14^{\circ} 54'$ W.
Serene, pleasant weather. Winds from the North'd.

24. N. Latt. $24^{\circ} 52'$; W. Long. $24^{\circ} 10'$; Amp'd $14^{\circ} 22'$ W.
Serene, pleasant weather. Winds from SE.

25. N. Latt. $24^{\circ} 12'$; W. Long. $24^{\circ} 7'$; Azi. $14^{\circ} 26'$ W.
Serene, pleasant weather. Winds from SE.

27. N. Latt. $22^{\circ} 0'$; W. Long. $23^{\circ} 0'$; Azi. $14^{\circ} 19'$ W. O. C.
Pleasant weather, winds from the NW. Plenty of Dolphin and Skip-jacks playing round us.

30. N. Latt. 20° ; W. Long 23° ; This day took the NE.
trade winds, after experiencing one day's calm (*between the variable and trades*).

November 1. N. Latt. $17^{\circ} 16'$; W. Long. $22^{\circ} 30'$; In the
course of this day, say the Island of Sal, (one of the Cape de
Verd Isles), $29\frac{1}{2}$ days from Boston light house—(a long
passage). Pass'd it to the Eastward and bore away to the
South'd, high land. Crew are all in health, although the reg-
ulation of the ship as respects cleanliness among them, is not
strict.

TOWARDS CAPE HORN.

4. N. Latt. $12^{\circ} 15'$; W. Long. $23^{\circ} 6'$; Azi. $13^{\circ} 28'$ W.
This day lost the NE. trade winds, and immediately took the
wind from the Southward.

7. N. Latt. $9^{\circ} 16'$; W. Long. $22^{\circ} 35'$; Amp'd $11^{\circ} 52'$ W.
Light variable winds, pleasant warm weather, attended at
times with sharp lightning.

9. N. Latt. $7^{\circ} 21'$; W. Long. $22^{\circ} 13'$. Squally weather,
with rain, with sharp lightning and heavy thunder, many water

² "In the azimuth compass the circumference of the card is divided into degrees and parts by a vernier, and is fitted up with sight-vanes to take amplitudes and azimuths, for the purpose of determining the variation of the compass by observation. The variation is applied to the magnetic course shown by the steering compass and thus the true course with respect to the meridian becomes known." Encyclopaedia Britannica (9th ed.) VI 0225.—W. C. F.

spouts in different directions. Experience very heavy squalls. Winds all round the compass since losing the trades. Many vessells in sight.

14. N. Latt. $5^{\circ} 4'$; W. Long. $22^{\circ} 13'$. Winds continue very variable and squally. This day spoke two ships: one a Portuguese from Lisbon bound to Rio Janeiro; the other an English waleman from England, for the Brazil coast. The Captain (by name *Buller*) was an American.

18. N. Latt. $3^{\circ} 48'$; W. Long. $23^{\circ} 30'$. This day Capt. Buller left us, his ship sailing much faster than ours. Winds and weather still remains very unsettled, with hard squalls, carried away our Jib boom, and got a new one out. A constant swell from the SE. Winds harp most at SSW.

19. N. Latt. $2^{\circ} 41'$; W. Long. $25^{\circ} 42'$; Azi. $11^{\circ} 32'$. Weather pleasant. This day took the wind at SSE, which no doubt is the commencement of the SE generall winds. The weather at this time is quite settled. Heretofore since leaving the NE. trades, it has been very gloomy and dark. Have noticed, since passing the Lattitude of 12° that the winds generally have been from South to SSW.—at times squalls from West.

21. N. Latt. $2^{\circ} 38'$; W. Long. $24^{\circ} 48'$; Azi. $10^{\circ} 30'$ W. A constant Current, setting to the Northward, in these Latitudes; (two sail in sight.)

22. N. Latt. $2^{\circ} 6'$; W. Long. $25^{\circ} 2'$; Azi. $10^{\circ} 13'$ W. Winds holds from SBE. to SSE. and fair pleasant weather, with a swell from the SE.

23. N. Latt. $1^{\circ} 41'$; W. Long. $25^{\circ} 26'$; Azi. $10^{\circ} 7'$ W. Winds and weather as before. Crew all well.

24. N. Latt. $1^{\circ} 15'$; W. Long. $26^{\circ} 1'$; Azi. $9^{\circ} 28'$ W. Winds at SSE. and quite moderate, weather pleasant.

25. W. Long. $26^{\circ} 57'$ O. \mathcal{C} . In the course of this day cross'd the Equator. Wind at SEBS. and pleasant, serene, temperate weather. Have fish of different kinds round most of the time. Ship's crew are all in health.

$54\frac{1}{2}$ days from Boston, 25 days from Isle of *Sal*, (long passages). Keep all hands through the day in good weather, employed in the various departments of the ship—it is best to keep them moving. They are allowed tea or coffe, each morn-

ing and in general the ship's fare is good, but proper attention to airing their beds and cloathing and fumigating their berths is not paid.

27. S. Latt. $2^{\circ} 5'$; W. Long. $28^{\circ} 26'$; Azi. $5^{\circ} 50'$ W. Pleasant, agreeable weather. Wind from SE to ESE. Plenty of fish about us. Breezes moderate.

28. S. Latt. $3^{\circ} 34'$; W. Long. $29^{\circ} 5'$. Spoke a French India ship, from L'Orient bound to Pondicherry, reckond himself in Longitude $26^{\circ} 50'$ W. of Paris. Caught a large Albacore.³ Wind ESE. Pleasant weather.

29. S. Latt. $5^{\circ} 12'$; W. Long. $29^{\circ} 22'$; Amp'd $4^{\circ} 59'$ W. Winds from ESE., squally weather.

30. S. Latt. $7^{\circ} 24'$; W. Long. $30^{\circ} 16'$; Azi. $4^{\circ} 51'$ W. Fresh gales. Caught an Albacore that weighed 130 lb. Spoke a Portuguese ship from Lisbon bound to Rio Janeiro.

31. S. Latt. $9^{\circ} 31'$; W. Long. $31^{\circ} 9'$; Morning Azi. $4^{\circ} 8'$, Evening, Azi. $3^{\circ} 42'$. A ship in sight. Pleasant weather with fresh trade winds, from ESE. to SE.

December 3. S. Latt. $13^{\circ} 30'$; W. Long. $32^{\circ} 26'$; Azi. $1^{\circ} 40'$ W.; O. \mathcal{C} . This day lost the SE. general winds, and immediately took it at NE. This Northly wind is no doubt the Monsoon prevailing at this season along the Brazill coast. Pleasant weather.

4. S. Latt. $14^{\circ} 39'$; W. Long. $32^{\circ} 40'$; Amp'd $0^{\circ} 53'$ W. Light breezes from NE. and very hot weather.

6. S. Latt. $17^{\circ} 23'$; W. Long. $33^{\circ} 14'$; azi. $1^{\circ} 28'$ W. Moderate breezes and pleasant. Winds from NE. to ENE.

7. S. Latt. $18^{\circ} 25'$; W. Long. $33^{\circ} 33'$; Amp'd $0^{\circ} 17'$ E. Do winds and weather, and swell from NE.

9. S. Latt. $21^{\circ} 52'$; W. Long. $35^{\circ} 43'$; Azi. $1^{\circ} 36'$ E. Moderate monsoon, and fair weather.

10. S. Latt. $23^{\circ} 55'$; W. Long. $37^{\circ} 4'$; Azi. $2^{\circ} 34'$ E. Lively breeze and pleasant temperate weather.

11. S. Latt. $25^{\circ} 0'$; W. Long. $38^{\circ} 44'$ O \mathcal{C} . This day a heavy squall struck the ship, carried away the top gall't masts and yards, topsail yards, and fore, and mizen, topmasts; lost the top gall't sails and damaged the topsails.

³ A large species of Tunny (*Thynnus*).—W. C. F.

13. S. Latt. $27^{\circ} 11'$; W. Long. $39^{\circ} 18'$; Azi. $5^{\circ} 15'$ E. In the course of this day got ship to rights again. Winds sometimes hauls to the southward of East. Crew all in health.

14. S. Latt. $27^{\circ} 50'$; W. Long. $40^{\circ} 5'$; Amp'd $8^{\circ} 5'$ E. Wind at SE., moderate breeze, large swell from SW.

16. S. Latt. $30^{\circ} 26'$; W. Long. $42^{\circ} 59'$; Azi. and Amp'd $8^{\circ} 28'$ E. Wind at NE. and weather pleasant.

18. S. Latt. $32^{\circ} 52'$; W. Long. $45^{\circ} 39'$; Azi. $9^{\circ} 0'$ E. O \odot . This day the NE. winds left us, and come at NW., fresh breeze and cloudy hazy weather.

21. S. Latt. $33^{\circ} 56'$; W. Long. $48^{\circ} 34'$; Azi. $11^{\circ} 32'$ E. Saw an Albatross, many other kinds flying about the ship. Large sea from SE.

22. S. Latt. $34^{\circ} 33'$; W. Long. $48^{\circ} 15'$; Azi. $11^{\circ} 38'$ E. * \odot . This day a heavy gale of wind from the SE. Lay too. Saw a turtle. A high sea.

25. S. Latt. $36^{\circ} 57'$; W. Long. $46^{\circ} 23'$; Azi. $11^{\circ} 36'$ E. Cool weather. Since the NE. winds left they have generally prevailed from the Southward, and blow'd fresh.

26. S. Latt. $37^{\circ} 37'$; W. Long. $47^{\circ} 20'$. Sounded, no bottom, 150 fm. line out the water discolour'd.

27. S. Latt. $39^{\circ} 7'$; W. Long. $49^{\circ} 58'$. Discolor'd water. Sounded no bottom at 150 fm.

29. S. Latt. $41^{\circ} 6'$; W. Long. $53^{\circ} 28'$; Azi. $17^{\circ} 25'$ E. Discolor'd water, no bottom at 120 fm. lowr'd a whale boat, and struck a black fish but lost him. The iron drew.

30. S. Latt. $41^{\circ} 53'$; W. Long. $54^{\circ} 4'$; Azi. $17^{\circ} 54'$ E. Cold weather. Winds from SW.

31. S. Latt. $42^{\circ} 46'$; W. Long. $53^{\circ} 45'$; Azi. $17^{\circ} 54'$ E. Fresh gales. Caught 16 Albatross's, with a hook and line from the stern, hook'd them in the bill. Ships crew are all in health.

So ends the year 1790.

MADE THE BRAZIL COAST OR PATIGONIA.

1791. *January* 6. S. Latt. $48^{\circ} 0'$; W. Long. $54^{\circ} 0'$; Amp'd $21^{\circ} 2'$ E. Generally fresh gales, and winds mostly from the Southward. Have caught many albatrosses within

these few days past, and seen plenty of Finback and right whales. Experience a current setting to the Southward.

7. S. Latt. $47^{\circ} 43'$; W. Long. $54^{\circ} 40'$; Amp'd $20^{\circ} 10'$ E. Fresh gales and pleasant cool weather.

10. S. Latt. $46^{\circ} 28'$; W. Long. $58^{\circ} 22'$. Winds from the southward. Sounded, no ground, with 120 fm. line. Saw seals and whales. Water much discolour'd.

13. S. Latt. $45^{\circ} 2'$; W. Long. $61^{\circ} 14'$; O C. A whale come so near as to strike the ship with his flukes and gave considerable of a blow. Got bottom, with 53 fm. line, fine black sand, with a few white specks.

14. S. Latt. $46^{\circ} 0'$; W. Long. $62^{\circ} 0'$. Wind from NW. Soundings 50 fm., fine black sand.

15. S. Latt. $45^{\circ} 31'$; W. Long. $63^{\circ} 54'$; Azi. $22^{\circ} 0'$ E. Winds from the Southward. Soundings 45 fm., soft mud with sand.

17. S. Latt. $46^{\circ} 48'$; W. Long. $66^{\circ} 58'$. Fresh gales, under double reef'd topsails, with a high sea. At noon 35 fm. mud, wind NE. Saw the land to the Westward of Cape Blanco on the Coast of Patagonia, bearing from SSE. to SW. Very squally, haul'd our wind to the Eastward, find the ship embayed with the wind, on shore. Stood on within 2 miles of the beach, and cou'd not weather the land on our larboard tack; we were under the necessity of wearing ship to the Westward, at this time had 12 fm. grey sand. Our situation was very critical, as we cannot weather the land on either tack. Bent cables, and overhaul'd a range of each of them, pass'd several times over very shoal water but did not sound, for fear of intimidating the crew. Ship'd many seas, one of which stove the Binnacle and broke the Compasses. Wore ship several times as the wind favour'd. This land appear'd levell, without much wood and very high grass growing. Saw several smokes, but none of the Natives. The shore was lined with white sand banks. Fortunately at midnight the wind moderated, and haul'd more of shore. Haul'd off into 20 fm. and stood along shore; given the Cape a good berth.

18. S. Latt. $47^{\circ} 9'$; W. Long. $66^{\circ} 38'$; Azi. $21^{\circ} 36'$ E. Saw breakers a head, haul'd to the East'd. Cape Blanco bore

S. 65° W., 4 leagues. Sounded and had but 5 fm. water; deepened gradually, in 25 fm. pebble or gravell stones. This shoal was not laid down in the Drafts. I judge it to be very small.

AT THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

19. S. Latt. 48° 37'; W. Long. 66° 8'. Winds from the SW. 56 fm. water, weather pleasant but cold. Many Albatross and large *scholes* of Whales.

22. S. Latt. 51° 53'; W. Long. 64° O C. Wind at NW. and squally. Made the Islands of Sebald-De Wert,⁴ (or Jasons Islands) which lie off the NW. part of the Group call'd Falkland. Vast many birds and seals round. Made sail to the South'd for States Bay, in New Island (one of the Falkland). At 6 A. M. saw Cape *Percivall*, SBE. 10 leagues. Fresh gales. At Meridian anchor'd, in New Island harbour. Mud and sand in 5 fm. Remain'd in this Harbour 11 days, during which time we give the ship a complete overhaul. We had the winds generally from the westward, and sometimes blew so strong that we drag'd with 5 anchors a head. A tent was erected on shore, for the Tradesmen. Found the watering place very handy, and the water excellent. The ship's crew on our arrival was all in health. Still no doubt, by being frequently indulg'd on shore, was of great service to them. The weather generally was very cool. During our stay at these Island[s] we shot upwards of 1000 Ducks and Geese, and 6 *Hogs* (*which was evidently of the Spanish breed*). The fowl was quite tame when we first arriv'd, but they soon was taught the doctrine of self-preservation. The Swine was very wild.

The face of the Country does not present a very delightful prospect, extensive heaths, mountains, and ponds of water are to be seen all over the Island. There is not a tree upon it, but the grass is 3 feet high in most places. The turf generally of the height of 6 foot, between which the Hogs and Penguins have their habitations.⁵ The soil appear'd to me to be proper for the reception of such seeds as contribute towards the sub-

⁴ Sebald de Weert, who circumnavigated the globe in 1598-99 in the ship *het Geloof*, the sole surviving vessel of the fleet of five commanded by Jacques Mahu and Simon de Cordes.—W. C. F.

⁵ Hoskins describes the mode of hunting these hogs. "The party being ashore,

stenance of inhabitants. The wild Cellery, which is an excellent antiscorbutic grows here in abundance.

I think these Islands are most proper to touch at, when bound round Cape Horn in preference to those in Straits La Maire⁶ as the water is handy, and you may keep your People on Geese and Ducks while you remain.

IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN AFTER PASSING STATEN LAND AND CAPE HORN.

February 3. S. Latt. $51^{\circ} 47'$; W. Long. $66^{\circ} 10'$; Amp'd $25^{\circ} 7'$ E. Wind from the Southward and pleasant weather. Left the Falkland Isles last evening. This day spoke the Ship *Bedford*, Laben Coffin, Master, from Dunkirk (in France) bound to the Pacific Ocean, on a whaling voyage.⁷ Took a departure from Cape Percivall at 6 P. M., it being the westward extreme of the Falkland, lying in Latt. $51^{\circ} 50'$ South, and Longitude 66° West of London. Light airs, and a swell from the Southward. Vast many marine birds flying round.

5. S. Latt. $53^{\circ} 54'$; W. Long. $69^{\circ} 36'$; Amp'd $25^{\circ} 1'$ E. Moderate breezes and pleasant. Saw Staten Land⁸ bearing *South* 14 leagues distant, a Current setting to the Eastward.

6. S. Latt. $54^{\circ} 52'$; W. Long. $68^{\circ} 13'$. Pleasant weather. St. Bartholomews on Staten Land, bore SWBW.

7. S. Latt. $55^{\circ} 24'$; W. Long. $68^{\circ} 1'$; Amp'd $25^{\circ} 16'$ E. Winds light and from the Westward, a Constant Current setting to the Eastward. Staten Land in sight, bearing WNW.

six would enter at one end of those tufts of grass armed, walking through them with a hue and cry; while two would walk on each side and two stationed at each end, ready to shoot the hog as soon as he should run out; by this means we were able to kill seven hogs and catch one pig alive."

⁶ Named after Jacob le Maire, who circumnavigated the world in 1615-1617.—W. C. F.

ANNOTATIONS BY JUDGE F. W. HOWAY, except on entries made when the *Columbia* was south of the Straits of Juan de Fuca. For this part of her cruise annotations are by Mr. T. C. Elliott. The annotations by Worthington C. Ford, editor Proceedings Massachusetts National Society, retained, are indicated by Mr. Ford's initials, W. C. F.

⁷ Ingraham in the preceding January had met in much the same locality the French whaler *Necker* from Dunkirk, Captain John Haives. He explains: "This ship was sailed under French papers and colours, yet she was an America-built ship likewise the Captain all his officers & most of his men were Americans but the great encouragement given by the French government to Americans to settle in France and fit out ships in the whaling service has induced many of our countrymen to emigrate yet I believe the major part of them have no idea of remaining among the French longer than they by their industry obtain a sufficiency to enable them to live comfortably in their own country."

⁸ I. de los Estados.—W. C. F.

20 leagues distant, very high and unequal land, with snow on the mountains.

12. S. Latt. $58^{\circ} 0'$; W. Long. $76^{\circ} 15'$; Azi. $24^{\circ} 36'$ E. Weather still holds pleasant, but very cold. Winds generally from the Eastward.

17. S. Latt. $60^{\circ} 1'$; W. Long. $82^{\circ} 8'$; Azi. $24^{\circ} 30'$ E. Winds since the 12th has been much from the Westward and blowd excessive fiery, with high seas. This day's Latitude is the highest South during the passage.

23. S. Latt. $57^{\circ} 36'$; W. Long. $84^{\circ} 42'$. A Seal playing round the ship. (Light winds.)

27. S. Latt. $54^{\circ} 44'$; W. Long. $86^{\circ} 24'$; Azi. $23^{\circ} 52'$ E. Cape Horn is *doubled*. Winds light from the west'd with frequent calms.

March 13. S. Latt. $43^{\circ} 9'$; W. Long. $88^{\circ} 55'$; Amp'd $15^{\circ} 54'$ E. Since 27th Feb'y winds have prevailed generally from the Westward, with moderate breezes and pleasant weather.

19. S. Latt. $40^{\circ} 32'$; W. Long. $88^{\circ} 20'$; Azi. $14^{\circ} 28'$ E. Light winds and pleasant.

21. S. Latt. $37^{\circ} 43'$; W. Long. $88^{\circ} 7'$; Azi. $14^{\circ} 44'$ E. Very pleasant weather. Some of the Crew have the Scurvy in the Gums.

24. S. Latt. $36^{\circ} 56'$; W. Long. $89^{\circ} 7'$; Azi. $13^{\circ} 20'$ E. Light winds from NW. and frequent Calms.

26. S. Latt. $34^{\circ} 35'$; W. Long. $88^{\circ} 41'$; Azi. $12^{\circ} 51'$ E.; Amp'd $12^{\circ} 35'$ E.; 2d Azi. $12^{\circ} 47'$ E. Very pleasant, and temperate light ai:s.

31. S. Latt. $30^{\circ} 0'$; W. Long. $89^{\circ} 28'$. Winds still from the westward with pleasant weather. Ship's Crew are in health.

PASSAGE FROM CAPE HORN TO THE NW. COAST.

April 2. S. Latt. $27^{\circ} 17'$; W. Long. $89^{\circ} 38'$; Azi. $11^{\circ} 50'$ E. O C. This day took the SE. trades, and experienced a swell from the Northward. Weather very pleasant.

4. S. Latt. $24^{\circ} 59'$; W. Long. $93^{\circ} 0'$; Azi. $11^{\circ} 34'$ E. Swell from the Southward.

6. S. Latt. $22^{\circ} 38'$; W. Long. $96^{\circ} 12'$; Azi. $10^{\circ} 14'$ E. Steady trades and fair. Blackfish and Porpoises.

8. S. Latt. $20^{\circ} 56'$; W. Long. $98^{\circ} 19'$; Azi. $10^{\circ} 26'$ E. Very pleasant, with smooth sea, winds to the North of East.

9. S. Latt. $20^{\circ} 32'$; W. Long. $98^{\circ} 55'$; Azi. $9^{\circ} 59'$ E. Small winds.

10. S. Latt. $19^{\circ} 41'$; W. Long. $99^{\circ} 56'$; Azi. $9^{\circ} 50'$ E. Small winds.

11. S. Latt. $18^{\circ} 50'$; W. Long. $100^{\circ} 29'$; Amp'd $9^{\circ} 12'$ E. Small winds. Wind at ESE. Ship's Crew is many of them complaining.

12. S. Latt. $17^{\circ} 57'$; W. Long. $101^{\circ} 24'$; Azi. $9^{\circ} 16'$ E. A little Scurvy among the Crew.

15. S. Latt. $14^{\circ} 9'$; W. Long. $105^{\circ} 28'$; Azi. $9^{\circ} 0'$ E. Lively trade winds and pleasant serene breeze, with smooth water.

16. S. Latt. $12^{\circ} 36'$; W. Long. $106^{\circ} 54'$; Azi. $7^{\circ} 50'$ E. Do. Do.

22. S. Latt. $5^{\circ} 37'$; W. Long. $113^{\circ} 39'$; Azi. $6^{\circ} 44'$ E. Amp'd $6^{\circ} 32'$ E. Saw a Turtle.

23. S. Latt. $4^{\circ} 37'$; W. Long. $114^{\circ} 39'$ O \mathbb{C} . Between the hours of 3 and 4 P. M. Departed this life our dear friend *Nancy* the *Goat* having been the *Captain's* companion on a former voyage round the Globe, but her spirited disposition for adventure led her to undertake a second voyage of Circumnavigation; But the various changes of Climate, and sudden transition from the Polar Colds, to the tropical heats of the Torrid zone, prov'd too much for a constitution naturally delicate. At 5 P. M. Committed her body to the deep. She was lamented by those who got a share of her *Milk!*⁹ Men of War Birds and Porpoises round.

26. S. Latt. $1^{\circ} 59'$; W. Long. $117^{\circ} 23'$; Azi. $6^{\circ} 0'$ E.; Amp'd $5^{\circ} 34'$ E. Pleasant weather. Saw a Turtle. Many Barracota and Dolphin round the ship.

28. S. Latt. $0^{\circ} 50'$; W. Long. $118^{\circ} 35'$; Azi. and Amp'd $5^{\circ} 30'$ E. Caught a shark; porpoises about the ship. Excessive warm.

29. S. Latt. $0^{\circ} 5'$; W. Long. $119^{\circ} 13'$; Azi. and Amp'd $5^{\circ} 18'$ E. O \mathbb{C} . Gentle trades at ESE and pleasant. Four

⁹ Hoskins records this incident: "On the 23d having some rice up to air, our best she goat got at it, eat so much that it swel'd her belly and caused her death; this was the more grievous as it depriv'd us of the greatest delicacy we had in the Ship, her milk, which made our tea so much the more palatable."

seamen laid *by*, with the Scurvey, their mouths and legs are very bad.¹⁰

30. Both by Meridian and Double Altitudes N. Latt. $0^{\circ} 50'$; W. Long. $119^{\circ} 59'$; Azi. $5^{\circ} 15'$ E. Porpoises and Bonnetto round together with Tropic Birds and Boobies.

May 2. N. Latt. $3^{\circ} 26'$; W. Long. $121^{\circ} 45'$; Azi. $6^{\circ} 28'$ E. Sharks round, and Boobies. This day took the NE trade wind.

3. N. Latt. $4^{\circ} 38'$; W. Long. $122^{\circ} 42'$; Azi. $6^{\circ} 52'$ E. Squally weather porpoises round and many birds, on the wing.

8. N. Latt. $12^{\circ} 34'$; W. Long. $128^{\circ} 5'$; Fresh trade winds. Saw a turtle.

13. N. Latt. $20^{\circ} 7'$; W. Long. $132^{\circ} 44'$; Azi. $9^{\circ} 1'$ E. Fresh trade winds. Porpoises round. Weather pleasant.

15. N. Latt. $23^{\circ} 9'$; W. Long. $132^{\circ} 33'$; Azi. $9^{\circ} 47'$ E. Steady trade winds and very pleasant. Scurvy making progress.

AT ANCHOR IN COX'S HARBOUR OR CLIOQUOT ON THE NW. COAST.

17. N. Latt. $25^{\circ} 35'$; W. Long. $133^{\circ} 43'$; Azi. $9^{\circ} 45'$ E. Fresh trade winds and generally pleasant weather.

19. N. Latt. $27^{\circ} 38'$; W. Long. $134^{\circ} 15'$; Azi. $10^{\circ} 41'$. Do. Do. 7 Men off duty with the *scurvy*, their Gums is quite putrid, and legs as big round as their bodies and quite *numb*, (the worst of Complaints!!).

24. N. Latt. $34^{\circ} 9'$; W. Long. $135^{\circ} 33'$; Amp'd $12^{\circ} 20'$ E. This day lost the NE trades, and immediately took the wind from the westward.

31. N. Latt. $46^{\circ} 47'$; W. Long. $125^{\circ} 50'$; Azi. $17^{\circ} 20'$ E. Have had *generally* fresh breezes and cool weather since 24th with the winds *generally* from SW. Many birds round, among the rest some that look'd like Plovers. 6 People extreme bad, with the *scurvy*.

June 4. N. Latt. $49^{\circ} 10'$; W. Long. $120^{\circ} 21'$. This day made the land, on the NW. Coast of the American Conti-

¹⁰ Strangely enough, Hoskins makes no mention of the appearance of the scurvy until 20th, May, when he records "the scurvy began to make its appearance on one of the people." Eight days later he adds that "six of our people (are) confin'd with the scurvy."

nent between Nootka¹¹ (or King George's Sound) and Cliquot¹² (or Coxes harbour). For these severall days past we had seen whales, drift wood, feathers, kelp, etc. All signs of its vicinity. Breakers pt.¹³ bore NEBE 8 leagues, high land back, and snow perceivable on some of the mountains. Wind from Southward.

5. N. Latt. 49° 5'; *Correct* W. Long. 125° 26' O C. This day anchor in Coxes harbour,¹⁴ and found it very commodious. This Harbour is made remarkable by three remarkable round Hills,¹⁵ abreast its entrance. *Hannah*,¹⁶ Chief of the village Ahhousett,¹⁷ came on board and appeared friendly. Above 300 of the Natives was alongside in the course of the day. Their canoes was made from the body of a tree, with stem, and stern, pieces, neatly fixed on. Their models was not unlike our Nantucket whale boats. The dress of these Indians was either the Skin of some Animal, or else a Blankett of their own manufactory, made of some kind of Hair.¹⁸ This garment was slung over the right shoulder. They all appear'd very friendly, brought us plenty of fish and greens. We tarry'd in this

¹¹ This sound is situated in latitude 49° 32' north, longitude 126° 35' west. By general consent its discovery is attributed to Captain James Cook, who spent some weeks there in March and April, 1778; though it is now known that the Spaniards had seen land near its entrance in August, 1774. Captain Cook first named it King George's Sound, but later changed it to Nootka, believing that to be the native name. Cook's Third Voyage, vol. 2, p. 288, 4to. ed. 1785. As to the probable origin of the name, see Walbran's Place Names, p. 359. During the early years of the maritime fur trade it was of considerable commercial importance; the seizure of Meares' vessels and the threatened war between Britain and Spain made it, in 1790, world-known.

¹² Clayoquot Sound is about fifty miles to the southward of Nootka. It comprises a number of inlets covering an area of about thirty miles in length and sixteen in breadth. The Port Cox of Meares was near the entrance to this sound, probably on the east side of Stubbs Island.

¹³ Now Estevan Point, the southern entrance of Hope Bay, as Cook called the water between it and Woody Point, now Cape Cook; Nootka Sound is one of its inlets. It was in this vicinity that the Spaniards, in the *Santiago*, under Juan Perez, anchored on 8th August, 1774.

¹⁴ Named by Meares in 1788 after John Henry Cox of Canton, who is frequently referred to in the acrimonious discussion that went on between Meares and Dixon after the appearance of the former's Voyages. See a sketch of it in Meares Voyages, 4to. ed. p. 202.

¹⁵ These are well known landmarks today. They are on Meares Island; the highest is called Lone Peak.

¹⁶ This was Chief Cleaskinah, who exchanged names with Captain Hanna of the *Sea Otter* in 1786. Meares met him in June, 1788, and describes him as "about forty and carried in his looks all the exterior marks of pleasantry and good humour." Meares Voyages 4to. ed. p. 136. Gray had met him in March, 1789. Haswell in his first Log says he "seemed a very intelligent old fellow." The custom of exchanging names as a token of friendship was prevalent on this coast and is mentioned by Meares, Roquefeuil and many others.

¹⁷ Ahousit, an Indian village, now on Flores Island in Clayoquot Sound; but at this time the tribe were still living at their original home on Vargas Island in the same sound, from which they had an uninterrupted view of the ocean. This old village site, now abandoned, was called Ahous, and thus gives its name to the tribe.

¹⁸ The celebrated dogs' hair blankets of the Coast Salish. For a discussion of this subject, see Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. ix, pp. 83-92.

harbour till the 16th June, landed the sick, immediately on our arrival and pitch'd a tent for their reception, and although there was ten of them in the last stage of Scurvy, still they soon recover'd, upon smelling the turf, and eating greens of various kinds. We buried severall of our sick, up to the Hips, in the earth, and let them remain for *hours* in that situation. Found this method of great service. The principall village in this harbour is called *Opitsatah*,¹⁹ and is governed by Wickananish,²⁰ a warlike Chief. He and his family visited us often. The Indians brought severall *Deer*, and plenty of Rock Cod, Salmon, and other fish. Wild parsley, and a root call'd *Isau* or *Isop*,²¹ by the natives and much resembling a small onion, was brought us in abundance. We purchas'd many of the Sea Otter skins in exchange for Copper,²² and blue Cloth. These Indians are of a large size, and somewhat corpulent. The Men wear no other covering, but the garment before mentioned, and seem to have no sense of shame, as they appear in a state of Nature. The Women stand in great fear of the Males,²³ but appear to be naturally very modest. Their garment is manufactured from the bark of a tree and is well executed, being so constructed as to cover them complete from the Neck to the Ankle. Both Male and Female wear *Hats* of a conicle form made out of strong reeds.²⁴ On them is painted, (in a rude manner) their mode of Whale fishery.

¹⁹ An Indian village on the southwest side of Meares Island in Clayoquot Sound. It is shown on Meares' map of Port Cox (4to. ed. p. 202), being the northerly one of the two villages there shown. Today it is known officially as Opitsat; but is generally spoken of as Clayoquot Indian village. Father Brabant spells it Opissat.

²⁰ This chief, whose name is spelled by the early voyagers in a variety of ways, figures in almost every account of these expeditions. He is the first chief that Haswell mentions, as having been met the *Washington* was cruising northward on 1st September, 1788. He came on board, says Haswell, "completely while dressed in a genteel sute of Cloths which he said Captain Mears had given him."

²¹ Haswell calls this plant a leek.

²² On his first voyage Gray had found copper much in demand; he had evidently profited by his experience. Luckily for him the variable taste of the natives, of which the traders all complain, had not changed in the interval. Copper was almost sterling amongst them; but they were whimsical as to the thickness of the sheets.

²³ Exactly the reverse conditions prevailed in Queen Charlotte Islands, as both Ingraham and Haswell inform us.

²⁴ For a complete description of these cedar bark garments, see Cook's Third Voyage, 4to. ed. vol. 2, p. 304. In the folio atlas accompanying this edition of Cook's Voyage will be found a picture showing these garments and also the hats.

Attoo,²⁵ the Captain's servant (and a native of the Sandwich Isle) ran away, among the Indians. A chief coming on board, plac'd a guard over him, and sent his Canoe back to the village with the news. They soon return'd with *Mr. Attoo*, and ransom'd their Chief.²⁶

17. This day weigh'd the anchors and left Coxe's harbour. Fine weather, wind at SW. All hands once again on duty. Make the people use Spruce Tea,²⁷ boil'd from the Boughs we took on board, for that purpose and although not very palatable, I believe is an excellent *Antiscorbutic*. Bound along shore to the North and West. Saw woody point bearing ESE 3 or 4 leagues.

AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S COVE AND JUAN DE FUCA STRAITS

20. N. Latt. 50° 6'; W. Long. 128° 12'. Moderate breezes. At 8 P. M. abreast Woody point,²⁸ lay'd off and on through the night. At daylight made sail, for Chickleset sound,²⁹ out Pinnace, and sent her ahead of the ship to sound. At 8 A. M. abreast the entrance of the sound. Hove to. At 10 the pinnace made the signall for an harbour. Bore away, wind at NW. At Meridian anchor'd in a small Cove, (which we named


²⁵ This boy had been taken from the Sandwich Islands by Captain Gray on his first voyage, just as Cook took Omai from Otaheite and Meares took Tianna from Attoo. E. G. Porter in his article on the Ship *Columbia* and the Discovery of the Oregon in the New England Magazine for June, 1892, says on page 478 that Attoo was a "young chief (sometimes called the crown-prince)." In any event he was flogged for this attempted desertion. See further, as regards him, the entries under dates 18th January, 1792, and 2nd November, 1792.

²⁶ In Hoskins' Narrative will be found the details of this incident, including the deception by which the Chief, Tootiscoosettle, the eldest brother of Wickaninish, was induced to come on board, and thereafter held until Attoo was brought back. Some of the subsequent difficulties may possibly be connected with this event.

²⁷ This was a recognized anti-scorbutic. This decoction must have been very nasty; it was originally prepared, "brewed," some of the voyagers call it, from the trees themselves. For reference to it, see Meares' Voyages, Introduction, 4to. ed. p. xx; Cook's Third Voyage, 4to. ed., vol. 2, p. 273; vol. 3, p. 331; Dixon's Voyage, p. 151; Portlock's Voyage, pp. 215, 217, 231, etc., and many other authorities.

²⁸ Now Cape Cook, the most westerly point of Vancouver Island, and the northern entrance to Hope Bay. It was so named by Captain Cook in 1778, but was changed, in honour of the great navigator, to Cape Cook by Captain George H. Richards, H. M. surveying vessel *Plumper*, in 1860. Walbran's Place Names, p. 107.

²⁹ This sound was well known, especially to the American traders. It is evidently Nesparte Inlet, north of Kyoquot Sound, and of which Woody Point (Cape Cook) is the entrance. Haswell, in his first Log, states that it lay about two leagues west of "Caoquot" (Kyoquot); Hoskins mentions "Catioquot" (Kyoquot) as being in its vicinity; in Haswell's second Log is a chart of the sound, which corresponds generally with Nesparte Inlet; Hoskins' description of its surroundings fits this sound exactly; and finally in the map in the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, 1916, vol. 4, p. 850, Nesparte Inlet is marked "Chickleset."

Columbias).³⁰ In this situation we was completely land lock'd. Vast many natives alongside. They appear'd much the same as those at Coxs harbour and talk'd their language. We laid in this harbour till the 26th, during which time got many Sea Otter and land furs, from the Natives, in exchange for Copper, Iron and Cloth, (with Beads, fish Hooks and such small stuff kept the Ship supplied with various kinds of fish and greens, with a few deer). These Natives was generally arm'd with Bows, arrows, and spears. Like those at Clioquot they would pilfer whenever an opportunity offer'd. Their *Women* were more Chaste than those we had lately left. But still they were not all *Dianas*. During our tarry here I visited one of the villages in the sound, found the Natives busily employ'd building Canoes, and packing provisions against the ensuing *Winter*. They treated me quite friendly. They dry their fish in the Sun, and then pack it in neat wooden *boxes*.³¹  Necessity is the mother of *invention*.

26. This day left Columbia's Cove, and stood along shore towards the Straits of Juan De Fuca. Crew all well. Steering to the South and East'd. This is an Iron bound Coast, with high land back.

27. This day pass'd Clioquot, with a fine breeze from WNW and pleasant.

28. N. Latt. $48^{\circ} 42'$; W. Long. $124^{\circ} 0'$. Enter'd the Straits of Juan De Fuca and hove to abreast the Village of Nittenatt,³² found strong tides. Vast many Natives off, with Sea Otter and other Furs, which we purchas'd with the same articles as before. 'T was evident that these Natives had been visited by that scourge of mankind the Smallpox.³³ The

³⁰ It would appear that this cove is that now known as Quin-e-ex, on Nesparte Inlet. It is on the southeast side of Brooks Peninsula, a few miles from Cape Cook. The Indian village, Opowis, mentioned by Hoskins, is opposite this cove and is now called "Opowis." See further hereon the above map and Report, pp. 853-891.

³¹ For a description of these boxes, see Cook's Third Voyage, vol. 2, p. 316. A picture of one will be seen in the view of the interior of a house at Nootka Sound, contained in the accompanying atlas.

³² Nitinat. "Nittenat," says Hoskins, "lies in the latitude of $48^{\circ} 40'$ north, longitude $124^{\circ} 06'$ west; it has no harbor or any other shelter before it; and is only rendered remarkable by a large cataract or waterfall a few miles to the northward of it." Probably this is Clo-oose, the head village of the tribe, which lies about a mile eastward from the discharge of Nitinat Lake.

³³ Portlock in his Voyage, p. 271, heard of great ravages of this disease amongst the Tlingit, and believed that it was introduced by the Spaniards in 1775, and worked its way down the coast.

Spaniards, as the natives say, brought it among them. These Indians appear'd friendly.

N. Latt. $48^{\circ} 23'$; W. Long. $124^{\circ} 0' 0'' \text{ O } \text{C} \text{ } \times \text{ } \text{C}$. Kept beating about the entrance of De Fuca Straits till 3d July, on SE. parts (off a small Isle) call'd Tatooch,³⁴ we collected many Otters. These natives gave the preference to Copper. Fine Halibut and Salmon was procured in abundance. Nails, Beads, etc. serv'd for this traffic. This Chief at Tatooch's Isle offer'd to sell us some young Children they had taken in war.³⁵

July 3. N. Latt. $49^{\circ} 1'$; W. Long. $126^{\circ} 20'$. Left the Straits. At 6 P. M. Cape *Flattery*³⁶ (so named by Capt. Cook) bore SEBE 8 leagues. Standing along shore to the Westward, wind from the East'd.

4. Took the wind from the Westward, employ'd beating to windward the land about 12 leagues. Many Whales.

AT ANCHOR IN BARRELL'S SOUND, IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLES

8. N. Latt. $52^{\circ} 10'$; W. Long $131^{\circ} 12'$. This day anchor'd in Barrells sound³⁷ on the SE. part of the Queen Charlotte Isles, 20 fathom, rocky bottom. Sent the Pinnace, with an officer, to seek better anchorage, which was soon found. Got under way and stood up sound, and anchor'd in 15 fathom muddy bottom. A Chief by name *Coyac*,³⁸ came along side, with plenty of other Indians. The Natives here are much stouter than any we had before seen, and appear to be very savage. The Men go quite naked, except a skin over the

³⁴ Tatooch Island, off Cape Flattery; named in 1788 by Meares, after Tatooch, by the Spaniards called Tetaous, the Chief of the vicinity. See also note 186 *post*.

³⁵ In the same locality in March, 1789, Haswell records that the natives "offered their own manufactured blankets which weir really curious and children for sale." Captain Peron alleges in his *Memoires* that, in 1796, "Après une assez longue négociation, Makouina (Maquinna) nous le (i e. a child of six years of age) vendit, moyennant trois brasses de drap bleu." See vol. 2, p. 2. Other instances are recorded.

³⁶ Named by Captain Cook on 22nd March, 1778, because its appearance "flattered us with the hopes of finding a harbour." See vol. 2, p. 263.

³⁷ Haswell, writing under date 11th June, 1789, says: "this sound was honoured with the name of Barrel Sound in honour of our owner." Joseph Barrell was really the principal of the six co-owners of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*. It is now called Houston Stewart Channel; it separates Moresby Island from Prevost Island. Dixon, who was on the coast in command of the *Queen Charlotte* in 1787, named it Ibbertson's Sound.

³⁸ Haswell calls him Coya; Hoskins calls him Coyah. The latter says that Coyah, whom Gray had met in 1789, did not come near the ship until a little after sunset, when most of the natives had left; that he told them Captain Barnard (Barnett) had got all their skins and asked Gray to wait for a few days for a fresh supply.

shoulder. The Women are entirely cover'd, with Garments of their own manufactory, from the bark of tree.³⁹ They appear to carry full sway over the men⁴⁰ and have an incision cut through the under lip, which they spread out with a piece of wood, about the size and shape of a goose egg (some much larger). It's considered as an ornament, but in my opinion looks very gastly. Some of them booms out two inches from the chin.⁴¹ The women appear very fond of their *offspring*, and the Men of both. We remain'd in this sound till the 17th. During which time we purchas'd a good lot of Sea Otter and other furs chiefly for Iron and Cloth. Copper was not in demand. The boats were sent frequently after wood and water, but were always well arm'd. The Natives supplied us with plenty of Halibut and Rock Cod, for which we paid them in *Nails*. Wild fowl was plenty in this Sound, of which we caught and kill'd many. I landed at one of their villages, found the Indians comfortably lodg'd, and kept large fires, although the weather was temperate. When I went into one of their houses they was eating roast muscles and singing a warlike Song. They appear'd fond of our visit and never offer'd to molest any thing in the boat. Their canoes are not made near so neat as those we had seen before, but I think was more commodious. The females was not very chaste, but their lip pieces was enough to disgust any civilized being. However some of the Crew was quite partial.

³⁹ The cedar—the blessed tree of the Northwest Coast.

⁴⁰ Both Hoskins Narrative and Ingraham's Journal are to the same effect and both give examples of this sway. See also Vancouver's Voyage, 4to. ed., vol. 2, p. 409, and Portlock's Voyage, p. 290.

⁴¹ This is the labret, or, as it is called amongst the Haida, the natives of Queen Charlotte Islands, the staie, which has excited the curiosity and derision of all the visitors to those islands from the time of Perez downward. Dixon gives a description and a picture of one, which was three and seven-eighths inches long and two and five-eighths inches in the widest part: it was inlaid with a small pearly shell, round which was a rim of copper. See Dixon's Voyage, p. 208. The custom was not confined to the Haida; it extended from Yukatat Bay to the boundaries of the Kwakiutl. Sir George Simpson in his Narrative of his Journey round the World, vol. I, p. 204. records having met instances of its use at Fort McLoughlin, amongst the Bella Bella Indians. Father Crespi, who accompanied Juan Perez in 1774, gives the first account of this strange adornment. "They (the women) wear pendant from the lower lip, which is pierced, a disk painted in colors, which appeared to be of wood, slight and curved, which makes them seem very ugly, and, at a little distance they appear as if the tongue was hanging out of the mouth. Easily, and with only a movement of the lip, they raise it so that it covers the mouth and part of the nose. Those of our people who saw them from a short distance said that a hole was pierced in the lower lip and the disk hung therefrom. We do not know the object of this; whether it be done to make themselves ugly, as some think, or for the purpose of ornament." Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California, vol. 2, p. 192.

IN THE STRAITS OF ADMIRAL DEFONT⁴²

17. Weigh'd and left Barrells sound, bound to the Straits of Admiral De Font,⁴³ which is formed by the Charlotte Isles and the *Main*.

18. N. Latt. 51° 34'. Wind from Westward and pleasant, beating to and fro, off the South pt. of Charlotte Isles, endeavouring to get into the Straits.

23. N. Latt. 52° 26'; W. Long. 131° 30'; Azi. 20° 22' E. Spoke the Brig *Hope*,⁴⁴ Joseph Ingraham master from Boston, on the same business with ourselves. Soon parted.

24. N. Latt. 53° 6'. A small Isle, in the Straits bore North at Meridian, which we named *Hatches*.⁴⁵ Weather is generally clear, so that the *Isles* and *Main* are distinctly seen together. Found ground at 120 fm. The Natives wou'd often come along side from the *Main*, or *Isles*, as we border'd on either shore, and brought furs and plenty of Halibut, which you cou'd buy for a board Nail apiece.

28. N. Latt. 53° 14'; W. Long. 132° 0'; Azi. 21° 35' E. Ship over towards the *Main*. Send an officer⁴⁶ in the pinnace

⁴² In terms of modern geography the *Columbia* now leaves Houston Stewart Channel, sails west into the Pacific Ocean, rounds Cape St. James, the southern point of Queen Charlotte Islands, proceeds up Hecate Strait, which lies between these islands and the mainland of British Columbia, keeping generally to the mainland side, and turning to the westward follows along the northern shores of Dixon Entrance, the strait separating Queen Charlotte Islands from Alaska.

⁴³ The story of this fictitious voyage of Admiral Bartholomew De Fonte will be found in Bancroft's *History of the Northwest Coast*, vol. I, pp. 115-118. For a full discussion, see Navarrete's *Viajes y Descubrimientos Apocrifos*, pp. 134-161. Haswell, Hoskins, Ingraham and Boit all believed in the existence of his fabled strait, which by an involved series of lakes and rivers connected with the Atlantic Ocean. The stretch of water called De Font's Strait by Boit is Hecate Strait. See also hereon, Vancouver's discussion of the voyage in *Vancouver's Voyage*, vol. 6, pp. 8 vo. ed. 1801.

⁴⁴ The *Hope* was a brig which left Boston a few days before the departure of the *Columbia* in 1790, under the command of Joseph Ingraham, who had been first officer on the *Columbia* on her first voyage. Ingraham left an account of both his voyages; but that of the first voyage has disappeared; and the second one is not complete, the entries ending abruptly after the *Hope* left the coast in the fall of 1792. His charts today are all the information that exists relative to some parts of the west coast of Queen Charlotte Islands. The account of this meeting of the two Boston vessels is also given by Hoskins, who was on the *Columbia*, and by Ingraham. Hoskins says: "During the night we had light airs and pleasant weather heard the cutting of wood at a distance which sounded as if on a vessel's deck when the lanthorns were ordered to be hoisted at four the next morning (the 23d) the south extreme of the land bore south by east six leagues distance at half past five saw a sail to the northward which by her signals we soon discovered to be the *Hope* of Boston Joseph Ingraham commander when at a short distance he welcomed us with three cheers which was immediately returned the *Hope* hove to under our lee when the jolly boat was sent for Captain Ingraham who came on board." Ingraham's version is not reproduced, as Professor E. S. Meany has appended it in a note to this journal, which will be found in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. xii, p. 12.

⁴⁵ Named after Charles Hatch, one of the owners of the *Columbia*. It is now called Ponilla Island in Hecate Strait, four miles from Banks Island. It is two miles long and one mile broad; rises to a height of 550 feet; and is an excellent landmark.

⁴⁶ Robert Haswell, the Chief Officer of the ship.

in search of anchorage. Found the land hereabouts low and barren near the shore, but rises back into high mountains. Find excessive strong currents in these Straits. The Natives on the Main speak a language different⁴⁷ from those on the Islands. Boat returned without success.

30. N. Latt. $52^{\circ} 47'$; W. Long. $131^{\circ} 00'$. Fresh gales and stormy weather. At Meridian Charlotte Isles extended from SBW to WBN 8 or 10 leagues. Some Canoes full of Indians boarded us from the Isles. They inform'd us that severall English vessels⁴⁸ had visited not long since. We purchased a good lot of furs, chiefly for Iron and Cloth.

31. Stood towards the Islands, and anchored in 24 fm. with a Kedge. Light wind from NW. A Chief (by name *Cumswah*)⁴⁹ brought us several fine Sea Otter skins.

August 1. Wind from SE. Standing along the Queen Charlotte Isles, through De Font straits, about 3 or 4 leagues from land, soundings generally from 15 to 25 fm. mud. The main land in sight to the North and West'd at a great distance.⁵⁰

2. Fresh gales and very thick weather. Narrowly escaped running on a reef of rocks. Quite foggy and see the land but seldom, beating to and fro. Wind from the Eastward.

3. N. Latt. $54^{\circ} 43'$; W. Long. $132^{\circ} 23'$. Heavy gales from SE. and thick weather, found the Ship embay'd,⁵¹ employ'd making short hanks. At length we being too nigh the shore for to keep off, through the night, we was alarm'd with all the horrors of a lee shore. A small opening appearing in the land to leeward, hove out the pinnace and sent an officer to examine for anchorage. At 6 in the evening she made a signal for a

⁴⁷ The observations of the American officers in regard to language are always correct. The natives of Queen Charlotte Islands are of the Haida race; while on the mainland opposite they are Tsimshian.

⁴⁸ So far as can be discovered there were but two English vessels in this vicinity in 1791, the *Grace*, Captain William Douglas, and the *Gustavus*, Captain Thomas Barnett.

⁴⁹ The recognized form of the name is Cumshewa. He was one of the principal men of these islands. His head village was on the northern side of Cumshewa Inlet, on the east coast. The place of this anchorage cannot be identified, but it was probably near Skedans on the south side of Cumshewa Inlet or near Cumshewa's village on the north side.

⁵⁰ Hecate Strait in this locality is about forty miles wide; the land to the northward would be, perhaps, seventy miles distant, being that lying between Prince of Wales Island and the mainland in Southern Alaska.

⁵¹ The *Columbia*, driven by gale and current, and in the fog, had entered Clarence Strait. See hereon more fully the "Supplementary Note on the Identification of Port Tempest and Massacre Cove," found at the close of the Journal, pages 350-1.

Harbour. Bore away and anchored under a point of land, in 17 fm. sandy bottom, let go three anchors, it being a wild road stead. We remain'd in this station, which we call'd Port Tempest⁵² till the 8th and only four Indians made their appearance, and I believe there was no villages⁵³ in the vicinity. Made severall excursions, with boats, and procur'd many Salmon and plenty of Berries. In one of these excursions I discover'd a small *rivulet*,⁵⁴ not deep enough to admit the boat. In it we caught upwards of 100 fine salmon, chiefly with the boat hook and grainz, and shot a deer upon the banks. Crew all in health.

8. Got under way and left Port Tempest (situated on the main land of America),⁵⁵ stood over for land in sight to the North'd and westward, and as we approach'd it severall Canoes came off, with furs and halibut.

10. N. Latt. 55° 0'; W. Long. 133° 0'. Light winds and pleasant, standing to the NW. and 6 P. M. came to with the Kedge 28 fm. Port Tempest bearing NEBN. 12 leagues. The Natives brought us plenty of fine Otter furs. Their Canoes are the same as at Charlotte Isles, some of them capable of carrying 30 men. They go well arm'd, with bows, arrows and spears, and appear to be a savage race. I went in the Cutter—well arm'd—to a small cove, not far distant from the Ship, and soon caught 9 large Halibut. The Ship was concealed by a point of land, making out from the NE. part of the Cove.

12. Still laying at anchor in same situation as on the 10th, the nearest land not above ½ mile distant, and the point of the Cove I was fishing in on 10 inst. about ¼ mile. Mr. Caswell this morning took a Boatswain Mate and one Seaman with

⁵² This is identified as being near Point Higgins, at the western entrance of Revillagigedo Channel (otherwise Tongass Narrows), which separates Revillagigedo Island from the Gravina Group of Islands. The reasons which support this suggested identification are so lengthy that it has been thought better to include them in a "Supplementary Note on the Identification of Port Tempest and Massacre Cove," found at the close of the Journal, pages 350-1.

⁵³ Hoskins, however, mentions two, Sushin and Cahta. Some inhabitants of the former were actually on board. The ship was striving to reach Sushin when she anchored near Massacre Cove. The villages were of the Kaigani Haida; the journalist may be referring to villages of the Tlingit; if so, the nearest, according to Vancouver, who was there in August, 1793, was at Point Whaley, perhaps fifty miles distant.

⁵⁴ The unnamed creek which empties into Ward Cove in Revillagigedo Channel. See supplementary note hereto.

⁵⁵ Until Vancouver circumnavigated Revillagigedo Island in August, 1793, it was thought to be part of the mainland. Port Tempest was near Point Higgins, the westerly point of that island.

him in the Jolly Boat, by the permission of Capt. Gray, and went to the *Cove* a fishing. A breeze springing up soon after, and wishing to leave this place, a six pounder was fir'd, a signal for the boat to return. She not appearing, soon after two more Cannon was fir'd. Got the Ship under way and stood off and on, and sent the pinnace under charge of the 4th officer⁵⁶ in search of the small boat. Soon after we see the Pinnace returning with the Jolly Boat in tow, without any person in her and soon discover'd they had the Boats Colours hoisted half mast. With this melancholy token they approach'd the Ship, when we soon discover'd our worthy friend, and brother officer, Mr. *Joshua Caswell* (2d) lay dead in the bottom of the boat, strip'd perfectly naked and stab'd in upwards of twenty places. They saw nothing of John Folger (the boat-swains mate) but Joseph Barnes (the Sailor) lay dead on the beach, and quite naked. Fearing the Natives lay in *ambush*, they did not land to take of the *Corps*.⁵⁷ It is probable they were beset upon by a great superiority of natives, prompted by a desire to possess their cloaths and arms. As soon as the boats return'd made sail for *Port Tempest*, and anchor'd in the evening, at our former station. In Mr. Caswell I lost a firm and steady friend. He was a man of mild and gentle temper, a complete Seaman, and in short was possest of every qualification that bespoke the gentleman.⁵⁸ Observ'd that the day previous to this disastrous affair few Indians had visited the Ship.

NW. END OF CHARLOTTE ISLE⁵⁹

13. N. Latt. $54^{\circ} 43'$; W. Long. $132^{\circ} 23'$.⁶⁰ Calm, and tem-

⁵⁶ Mr. Waters, as appears by the entry of 24th March, 1792, *post*.

⁵⁷ The account in Hoskins adds nothing to these facts; that in Ingraham is very brief and, necessarily, hearsay.

⁵⁸ Hoskins adds the following facts in reference to Mr. Caswell. He was about twenty-six years of age; was born in Malden, four miles from Boston; had followed the sea from boyhood; served in the War of Independence; was taken prisoner early in that war; after peace was declared re-entered the merchant service and rose to the rank of captain; but, being interested in discovery, was content to take the position of second mate on this expedition. "He was," adds Hoskins, "a reputable good seaman of a most happy serene placid disposition in most cases too passive he was loved and beloved by all who knew him he was an honest man which Pope says 'is the noblest work of God'."

⁵⁹ After obtaining the body of Mr. Caswell the *Columbia* returns to the western end of Revillagigedo Channel, sails thence to the north shore of Queen Charlotte Islands and enters Masset Harbour.

⁶⁰ This latitude and longitude have no relation either to Port Tempest or Massacre Cove; they are given by Haswell as the position of Murderers' Cape, which lay at the western entrance of Brown's Sound, in which Port Tempest was situated. That is Cape Chacon of today. Its latitude is the well known $54^{\circ} 40'$.

perate weather. At 8 in the morning the 4th Officer was dispatch'd with a party well arm'd in the Pinnacle, for to dig a grave for our worthy *friend*. At 9 the pinnacle return'd. At 10 left the Ship with three boats, under charge of Mr. Hazwell, 1st Officer, with the corps, the Ship firing minute guns. At 11 Capt. Gray landed in a small boat, and after performing divine service, we *inter'd* the remains of our departed, and much beloved, *friend*, with all the solemnity we was capable of.

The place was gloomy, and nothing was to be heard but the bustling of an aged oak, whose lofty branches hung wavering o'er the grave, together with the meandering brook, the Cries of the Eagle, and the weeping of his friends added solemnity to the scene. So *ends*.⁶¹

15. Weighed, and left Port Tempest, wind at NW. At sunset it bore NBW. 6 leagues, and (Massacre Cove)⁶² West 5 Miles. Saw none of the Natives. No doubt the Rascles wou'd have destroy'd the Jolly boat after they had massacred our unfortunate countrymen, had not the Ship's guns alarm'd them. Standing to the South and E.

16. This day spoke the Brig *Hancock*⁶³ of Boston, Samuel Crowell, Master. They was on the same business as ourselves, and had been pretty successful.⁶⁴ Capt. Crowell inform'd that

⁶¹ When Haswell returned to the spot in the *Adventure* on 2nd June, 1792, he found that "the natives had dug the corpse of Mr. Caswell up, and by the appearance it must have been done soon after burial."

⁶² This, it is suggested, was situate on the eastern side of Prince of Wales Island between Cholmondeley Sound and Skowl Bay. No data are given in any of the narratives whereby to distinguish it from any of the other coves in the vicinity. Perhaps Indian tradition may later be brought forward to identify the exact spot. See the supplementary note hereto for further discussion of this subject.

⁶³ This vessel had evidently been trading for a month in the vicinity, for Ingraham had learned of her presence on 16th July, while he was in Parry Passage (Cox Strait). On that date he says, "Cow inform'd us he saw a vessel to the Eastward with 2 masts on which I sent a boat with an Officer accompanied by Cow to view her after a short absence the boat return'd and inform'd it was a Brig standing to the Eastward this vessel I afterwards found was the *Hancock* Cap Croel from Boston N A." Hoskins states that she had arrived on 14th July, having left Boston in the beginning of November, 1790. She had stopped for supplies at St. Salvador, a Portuguese settlement on the coast of Brazil, and had also stayed some time at Staten Island, killing seals and obtaining wood and water. She had called at Mas afuera for water and at Owhyhee for fresh provisions. The natives there had determined to capture her, but Tianna (well known to all readers of Meares) had informed the captain of their intention and had urged him to sail at once, as he had promised his people that if the brig remained there on the following day they were at liberty to carry the project into effect.

⁶⁴ The *Hancock* had obtained between five hundred and six hundred sea otter skins; the *Columbia* had about as many. See Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xi, p. 17. Haswell says she had seven hundred sea otter skins.

his Longboat was cruising among the Charlotte Isles, under charge of his 2nd Officer.⁶⁵ The Brig kept us company.

18. Pleasant weather. Came to anchor, in a River, which Capt. Crowell had named Hancocks,⁶⁶ situated on the NW part of the Queen Charlotte Isles, in company with the Brig, 6 fm. water, mud. The Brig's Longboat we found at this place, vast many of the Natives along side the Ship, and a few furs was purchased. Capt. Crowell had, upon some trifling offence, fir'd upon these Indians, by which a number of them fell, (such wanton cruelty throws him upon a levell with the savage), and perhaps this same fray was the means of our losing our worthy 2nd Officer as the places are not 20 leagues distant and mayhap they reck'd their Vengeance⁶⁷ upon us, thinking us all of one tribe. If it was so, bad *luck to Crowell. Amen.*

AT ANCHOR IN CLIOQUOT HARBOR

19. N. Latt. $54^{\circ} 12'$; W. Long. $132^{\circ} 25'$. Fine weather. The Hancock saild on a Cruize.⁶⁸ The land about this River, is the best without exception I've yet seen, on the NW. Coast, and a place well calculated for a *Factory* for to reap the advantages of the fur trade. The Natives, I dare say, have always plenty of *Otters*, and there is fish in abundance. Hove up,⁶⁹ and came to sail towards evening and stood to sea, light winds and very strong tides. At sunsett Murderers Cape bore NNW. at a great distance.

20. N. Latt. $53^{\circ} 49'$; W. Long. $133^{\circ} 24'$. Soundings from 7 to 12 fm., shoal water about these parts of Charlotte Isles. Standing to the Southward through Defont straits, running

⁶⁵ The frame of the longboat had been brought out in the brig from Boston and put together somewhere on the coast of Queen Charlotte Islands. It had been rigged as a sloop and placed in charge of Mr. Adamson, formerly in Meares' employment on the *Iphigenia*.

⁶⁶ This so-called river is now Masset Inlet. In Haswell's second Log will be found a sketch of it, on which the river-like portion is marked Mahsheet. He gives its position as $54^{\circ} 5'$ north latitude and $132^{\circ} 13'$ west longitude. This is nearly correct.

⁶⁷ The greater probability is that, as in the cases of Quadra, Barkley, and the *Atahualpa*, it arose from mere cupidity; the implements, clothing and the nails in the boat were sufficient temptation.

⁶⁸ Before doing so Captain Crowell left with the natives at Tadents in Parry Passage (Cox Strait) a man named Jones, who was to collect furs against his return; but he soon tired of the life there, went to Kaigani, and shipped away at the first opportunity. This expedient was frequently tried by the traders; the result was always the same.

⁶⁹ The reason for the *Columbia's* sudden departure was, according to Hoskins, to forestall the *Hancock* in the trade on the eastern side of Queen Charlotte Islands.

along the Isles in from 15 to 30 fm. according to distance off shore, these Charlotte Isles are from the Latt. $51^{\circ} 55'$ to $54^{\circ} 24'$ N. and from Longitude $131^{\circ} 0'$ to 133° W.

22. N. Latt. $53^{\circ} 2'$; W. Long. $131^{\circ} 31'$; Amp'd $20^{\circ} 2'$ E. O C. Many of Indians of this day from Cumswah village, in Charlcot Isles, brought a few skins, but I think they are pretty well drain'd.⁷⁰ Came to, with the Kedge in 20 fm. about 2 miles from shore. Soon after *see* a Boat rowing towards us, and heard a Cannon fir'd in the sound. At 3 P. M. Mr. Cruft,⁷¹ 1st Officer of the American Brig *Hope* (which we had spoke with before) came along side, with Capt. Ingraham's compliments, and offer'd to be the bearer of Letters, as he was shortly bound for Canton.⁷² We readily embraced the *opportunity*. At dark Mr. Cruft left us. Up Kedge and bore away to the southward and East'd.

23. N. Latt. $52^{\circ} 37'$; W. Long. $130^{\circ} 22'$. The SE. part of Charlotte Isles bore SE $\frac{1}{2}$ E. 12 leagues, light winds and variable. A Canoe boarded us, at this great distance, and brought many prime furs.

28. N. Latt. $49^{\circ} 20'$; W. Long. $127^{\circ} 16'$. At Noon this day, Nootka (or King Georges sound) bore ENE. 10 leagues. Since the 23d we have never lost sight of the Continent. 'T is very high land. Saw *whales*.

29. N. Latt. $49^{\circ} 5'$; W. Long. $126^{\circ} 0'$. At Noon the entrance of Cliquot (or Coxes harbour) bore NE 4 leagues. Standing in for the harbour, and towards evening anchor'd in our former station, vast many of the Natives along side, and seem'd glad to see us again. Found riding here the Brig *Lady*

⁷⁰ Ingraham in the *Hope* had been lying at anchor, trading continuously with these natives, for over a fortnight.

⁷¹ This officer died shortly afterwards while the *Hope* was *en route* to the Sandwich Islands. Ingraham gives his name as Crafts. Proper names appear to have been spelled, as Sam Weller said, according to the taste and fancy of the speller; this renders identification difficult in many cases. Ingraham was returning good for evil; the owners of the *Columbia*, he tells us, being "filled with envy and malice against all who went to share with them this valuable trade gave orders that no Letters should be borne out in their ship to any one on board the *Hope*." Thus, though Ingraham got his letters through the instrumentality of Haswell, who smuggled them through, poor Crafts' letters were refused and came out on the *Hancock*, with the result that he never received them, having died before the two vessels met at the Sandwich Islands.

⁷² Ingraham's voyage had been remarkably successful, so far as obtaining furs was concerned. This result was obtained partly through his invention of the iron collars and partly through his policy of remaining in one place so long as furs continued to be offered for barter, instead of flitting from place to place as the other vessels did. See a *resume* on his voyage in Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xi, pp. 3-28.

Washington,⁷³ of Boston, John Kendrick, *master*. He had made up his Voyage and was bound for Canton. He appear'd happy in meeting with his old friends.

N. Latt. 49° 9'; W. Long. 125° O 4 * 4. Captain Kendrick inform'd us that he had had a skirmish, with the Natives at *Barrells* sound in Queen Charlotte Isles, and was oblig'd to kill upwards of 50 of them before they wou'd desist from the attack. It appear'd to me, from what I cou'd collect that the Indians was the aggressors.⁷⁴ This Brig *Lady Washington* was a Sloop when she left Boston, but Capt. Kendrick had alterd her rig in Canton the year before. I was sorry to find that *Kendrick* had made no remittances, to the owners, since he had parted with the *Columbia* the first voyage, although since that period he had made two successful trips⁷⁵ from this Coast to Canton. As the Vessells still belong'd to the same owners he was under some mistrust that Capt. Gray was empower'd to seize the Brig,⁷⁶ and kept himself always ready against attack.⁷⁷ We tarried in this harbour till the 8th Sept.,

⁷³ The consort of the *Columbia* on the voyage 1787-1790. She was at anchor in Larks Bay when on 12th February, 1790, the *Columbia* passed down the Tigris on her return to Boston. In the interval the latter had made the voyage to New England and back, whilst the former had occupied the same time in disposing of her furs, altering her rig from a sloop to a brig, or more likely a brigantine, and returning to the coast. The *Washington*, as she is usually called, had reached Queen Charlotte Islands on 13th June from China, *via* Japan; the *Columbia* had arrived at Clayoquot Sound eight days before, from Boston.

⁷⁴ Ingraham gives the outlines of the story; but Hoskins, Captain Kendrick's friend, enters into all the details. Summarized the story is that in the fall of 1789, while at Houston Stewart Channel, some clothing was stolen from the *Washington*. Kendrick seized the two chiefs and, fastening them to a cannon, threatened to kill them if the stolen articles were not forthcoming. The greater part were returned: the remainder he made them pay for in skins, and finally he forced the natives as a condition of releasing the Chiefs to bring all their furs, which he took and paid for at the current rate. He then gave the Chiefs their liberty and sailed away. He did not return until June, 1791, but soon after his arrival, and after trading had gone on as usual, the natives gathered on the ship in large numbers, took possession of the arm chest, and drove the crew below. Kendrick remained on deck, Coyah, one of the Chiefs, taunting him and daring him to tie him to the cannon again. The natives, all armed, only waited the signal to begin a massacre. Coyah and Kendrick got into a scuffle, and at this time the crew returned with arms and, led by Kendrick, who had freed himself from his assailant, cleared the vessel's deck. The Indians retreated precipitately on seeing the firearms; and even the exhortations of a perfect Amazon could not re-form them for attack. The small arms and the cannon were discharged at the fleeing Indians and when they were out of range they were pursued by the armed boats.

⁷⁵ The journalist is in error here. Kendrick in the *Washington* did not see the Northwest coast from his departure in the fall of 1789 until 13th June, 1791.

⁷⁶ Hoskins, in a letter to Joseph Barrell, dated August 21, 1792, says: "Capt. Kendrick when I saw him the last season (referring to the occasion now in notation) offer'd to give up to me (if I would pay his men's wages & a debt he had contracted in Macao of about 4000 dollars) his vessel and cargo which was a thousand sea otter skins. I told him I had no authority to accept his offer or to demand any payment from him nor did I think any person in the ship had."

⁷⁷ This is an exaggeration; both Hoskins' Narrative and Haswell's Log show that the two ships were on the best of terms, mutual visits were exchanged, and the fullest confidence prevailed.

during which time collected many Sea Otter and other furs, and fish in abundance. These Natives miss'd Mr. Caswell, and it was thought proper to inform them that he had died a *natural death*.

September 8. Weighed and beat out of the harbour, wind at SW. At Noon Clioquot bore NW. 6 leagues standing toward Juan De Fuca straits.

IN THE STRAITS OF JUAN DE FUCA

11. N. Latt. $48^{\circ} 15'$; W. Long. $124^{\circ} 30'$. This day abreast Cape Flattery, on the SE. part of De Fuca entrance, vast many of the Natives along. Purchas'd many *Otters*. These Indians told us, there was five sail of Spaniards up the straits.⁷⁸ At Midnight saw *Tatoosh* Isle, bearing NNE. 3 miles. Thought ourselves further off shore. Almost calm, and an excessive strong tide sweeping us between some ledges and the Isle. At daylight thick fog, saw the Rocks a head, within pistol shot, with high breakers. Out all Boats, and just towed the Ship clear. Our situation was truly alarming, but we had no business so near the land in thick weather. However *Good Luck* prevail'd and a breeze springing up from offshore we stretch'd out clear in *Boats*. Foggy disagreeable weather. Cou'd observe at intervals that the woods were on fire.⁷⁹

12. Wind NE. Heard the roaring of Breakers, foggy, haul'd more off shore. At 3 P. M. saw a rock about a stone's throw distant, and narrowly escaped being dash'd upon it—damn nonsense to keep beating about among rocks, in foggy weather. At midnight heard the surf roar again, which I suppose to be on the North side of the Straits, sounded and found ground at 25 fm. Rocks. The Captain, at length, was

⁷⁸ At present these cannot be identified. Navarrete says in *Viajes y Descubrimientos Apocrifos*, pp. 113-121, that Elisa, who was exploring the strait that year, returned in August; and in any event, according to this author, had only two ships, though Bancroft thinks it possible there may have been three. See Bancroft's *History of the Northwest Coast*, vol. I, p. 244 *et seq.*

⁷⁹ Haswell says: "The weather became so hazy we could see scarcely 4 miles. The weather was not damp, but appeared like an intensely thick smoke." Hoskins gives the following account: "At noon it was cloudy with exceeding sultry weather the wind blowing in puffs off the land and fetching so hot a stream that many of our people insisted on it that they were burnt. The higher you were aloft the greater was the degree of heat this is I conceived to be occasioned by some back woods the natives must have been setting fire to, though there was no smoke seen to warrant this opinion."

frightened,⁸⁰ and proceeded with the Ship to a good offing (this ought to have been done long before), thick foggy weather, with a moderate breeze.

16. N. Latt. $48^{\circ} 14'$; W. Long. $124^{\circ} 30' \text{ \& } *$. Fog clear'd off, saw Cape *Flattery* bearing NNE. 2 leagues. Very strong tides. At Noon we were about 2 miles from *Tatooch Isle*. Came to with the Kedge, sandy bottom, the Island bearing North. I think it possible there is a passage between Cape *Flattery* and this Isle of *Tatooch*; it appears about 2 miles wide. However cou'd see breakers between them and currents are excessive strong, as we cou'd discern them to foam in that narrow pass. Many Natives came off, and we purchas'd a few skins and plenty *Halibut*. Weigh'd and came to sail towards evening, bound to *Clioquot*.

AT ANCHOR IN CLIOQUOT HARBOUR

18. N. Latt. $49^{\circ} 9'$; W. Long. $125^{\circ} 26'$ This day anchor'd in our Old Station⁸¹ in *Clioquot* harbour, found the Brig *Lady Washington* still riding here.⁸² At this Harbour Captain Gray had determin'd to winter, if he cou'd find a suitable place, for to build a Sloop of 45 Tons, for to assist in collecting furs, on the next season. The stem and stern post, with part of the floor timbers had been brought from Boston for this purpose.

19. On the 19th Capt. Gray went with two boats up the sound, for to seek a convenient cove. In the evening the Captain return'd, having found a place to his mind, about 4 leagues⁸³ from where the Ship lay.

WINTER QUARTERS, LATT. $49^{\circ}9' \text{ N}$; LONG. $125^{\circ}30' \text{ W}$.

20. On the 20th weigh'd. with light airs, and with the Boats ahead, assisted by the Brig's Crew, we tow'd, and sail'd, into

⁸⁰ Both Haswell and Hoskins give this awful experience in somewhat greater detail and unite in blaming Captain Gray for his stubbornness in refusing to seek an offing. Hoskins asserts that at times they could not see a hundred yards ahead; and for two days the *Columbia* was tacking backwards and forwards across the strait with its strong tides "having the surf on one side and the breakers on the other to give us warning when to go about."

⁸¹ In Port Cox, see ante, note 14. The latitude given is correct; the latitudes are usually nearly right but the longitudes are always too far east; the longitude here should be $125^{\circ} 58'$.

⁸² Kendrick's movements appear quite leisurely. Gray can get ready to sail for China in three days; see entries in this journal Sept. 30, 1792, *et seq*; but it takes Kendrick nearly a month. Haswell says that on their return Kendrick was not much nearer ready than when they had left, ten days before.

⁸³ This is an exaggeration. Hoskins is nearer correct; he says eight miles

winter quarters, which we call'd Adventure Cove,⁸⁴ and moor'd Ship for the winter. Vast many of the Natives along side, and appear'd to be highly pleas'd with the Idea of our tarrying among them through the Cold Season. The *Columbia* lay moor'd in this Cove till the 25th of March, 1792. I shall endeavour to give the heads of our proceedings during that period.

Adventure Cove was situated in about the Latitude of 49° 15' N. and Longitude 125° 30' W. of London, about 17 miles from the Ocean. This Cove was form'd by an Isle and the SE. shore Clloquot sound—so small, that when the Ship was moor'd, you might throw a stone upon the beach in any direction, the passage in was not to exceed 100 feet, so that we was in a complete bason. (At 25th inst. Capt. Kendrick sail'd for Canton.⁸⁵) The *Adventure* was set up at the back of a fine beach, the woods being previously clear'd. A Log House⁸⁶ was erected near, mounted with two Cannon, with Loop holes for Musketry. Here Capt. Haswell, with a party of Seamen, and all the Mechanics was station'd. Near it, the Blacksmiths and Boat Builders Shops were plac'd; two Saw pits was erected, and kept constantly at play, sawing *planks*, and was supplied with Logs from the sound, by Boats constantly on that duty. So that Adventure Cove soon had the appearance of a *young ship yard*. Strip'd the Ship to a gritline, and kept a gang under the directions of the Boatswain upon the rigging.

from the anchoring place (Port Cox) and fifteen miles from the sea. According to Haswell, it was intended to winter at Naspatee (Nesparte Inlet, Columbia's Cove), but the wind was adverse, and as the fall was approaching it was concluded to find some suitable spot in Clloquot Sound.

84 It is difficult to identify this cove with certainty, principally because none of the writers, Boit, Haswell, nor Hoskins agreed upon its distance from any one place; and again, it was such a small cove that the *Columbia* lay in the harbour with cables to the trees on either side, and thus situate was completely landlocked. Hoskins says also that the Indians called it Clicklecutee; all efforts to trace this name in the nomenclature of today have, up to the present, been unsuccessful. It is clear that Adventure Cove was on the eastern side of Disappointment Sound, Meares Island, for Hoskins records that when the *Columbia* lay in the harbour (Port Cox of Meares) the flag staff of Opitsah bore north northwest, Harbor Island (Stubbs Island) south one half west, and Fort Defiance (Adventure Cove) east by north. Dr. C. F. Newcombe of Victoria has kindly furnished me with the following note, which supports the above statement: "The Indians of Clloquot Sound told me that the Americans built their first ship on the southeast point of the entrance to Disappointment Sound in Meares Island, just opposite the present village of Opitsah, which was already in existence."

85 Captain Kendrick appears to have made this voyage with more celerity than he usually showed. He left Clloquot on 25th September, 1791, and was at the Sandwich Islands on 27th October, as appears from Vancouver's Voyage (vol. I, p. 383, ed. 8vo. 1801). There he left some men to collect sandal wood and pearls. He sailed for China and, according to Ingraham, arrived in Larks Bay, near Macao, on 7th December; a good quick passage.

86 Kendrick had called his house Fort Washington; Gray named his Fort Defiance.

The Natives made us frequent visits, and brought a good supply of fish and some Sea Otter Skins, and by keeping a small boat down sound, with 4 of our Seamen we procured a constant supply of wild Geese, Ducks and Teal. The Geese and Teal resembled those at home, but the Ducks were exactly of the same Species, with the *tame* of our Country.⁸⁷ We see none of any other kind. Now and then we shot a wild *turkey*.⁸⁸ The Natives appear'd to be highly pleased with the different works going on at the Cove. They sometimes brought us *Venison* and supplied us with as many *boards* as we wanted. They was all caeder, and appear'd to have been split with wedges, from the Log.

October 7. An alarm was given by the *Centry* at the Block house, that there was *Canoes* in the Cove. Finding they was discover'd they soon went off.⁸⁹

13. The frame of the Sloop was up complete, and this day brought the Garboard streak of Plank to her bottom. This is what I call dispatch. *Wickananish*, high Chief, came on board, with severall of the Royal family. He inform'd that his winter village⁹⁰ was a great way off, which occasion'd his visiting us so seldom. He went on shore, and astonishment was conspicuous in his countenance at the work going on there. The Natives was very much puzzled to know how we shou'd get the Sloop off when finish'd, as she was 75 foot back from high water mark. *Wickananish* is the most powerful chief⁹¹ we

⁸⁷ The mallard which is the parent of our ordinary tame duck.

⁸⁸ As there were no wild turkeys in that region, Professor Meany has suggested that it may have been a large grouse. Mr. F. Kermodé, the Curator of the Provincial Museum of British Columbia, however, thinks that it was a sand-hill crane. He points out that some persons to his knowledge have mistaken it for a wild turkey. Haswell records, under date of 23rd May, 1792, that at Portland Canal he "had the good fortune to shoot a turkey."

⁸⁹ Haswell gives a totally different version. "But wonderful to tell," he says, "these mighty war equipped savages turned out to be none other than some rocks, which the tide ebbing low had left dry." He adds that he did not chide the sentinels for their error, preferring that they should report the least suspicious thing.

⁹⁰ Haswell in his first Log says: "Their winter village Oakakinah (is) far up a fresh water river where they have plenty of salmon." Hoskins calls it Okerminnah. It was so far, the Indians told him, from Adventure Cove that it took them the greater part of two days to paddle the distance. It was likely on the Bear River, which flows into Bedwell Sound, and is the village which was attacked by Maquinna while Jewitt was a captive. See Jewitt's Adventures, 168 *et seq.* Edinburgh 1824.

⁹¹ The first white person to see *Wickananish* has fortunately left us a manuscript account of him. She says: "A day or two after sailing from King George's Sound we visited a large sound in latitude 49 .20 north, which Captain Barkley named *Wickananish's Sound*, the name given it being that of a chief who seemed to be quite as powerful a potentate, as Maquilla at King George's Sound. *Wickananish* has great authority and this part of the coast proved a rich harvest of furs for us." This is an extract from Mrs. Barkley's diary which is in the Archives of British Columbia. This was in 1787.

have yet seen on this Coast. His tribe consists of upwards of 3000 souls. They allow Polygamy, but the women are not prolific, as barrenness is very common among them. The Indians girls kept us well supplied with *Berries* of different kinds, which was very grateful.

14. We was inform'd this day that Capt. Crowell, in the Brig *Hancock*, was at Juan de Fuca straits.⁹¹

27. The Natives brought us some excellent Salmon. Experience much rain, which hinders the work. When the weather is too bad for to work on the Sloop, keep the Carpenters under shelter making a *boat* for her. Heard of three Spanish ships⁹² being at Nootka. Keep always upon our guard against surprize as we are among a powerful sett. The boat after game, met with some *Indians* that was a little troublesome, but by firing a musket over their heads they soon went off. These Indians was very enquisitive, for to know the cause of thunder and lightning, but we cou'd not make them understand the real cause, but much surprized them by saying there was a man in our Country, that made both. They suppose thunder to be occasioned by an Eagle carrying a Whale into the air, and *Lightning*, the hissing of a *Snake*, which are exceeding large in this country. One of our Seamen, being down sound a gunning, saw one of these animals, which by his discription was as big round as his thigh.⁹³ Being alone, and somewhat frightened, retir'd without firing. These Indians are very superstitious in regard to this Animal, for when they go on a whaling cruize they always rub their face with a piece of it. We have never been able to gain much information as respects their Religion, but they certainly pay adoration to the *Sun*, and *Moon*, and believe in Good and evil Spirits. They lash

⁹¹½ This is a strange error. The *Hancock* was then at the Sandwich Islands on her way to China. On 6th October Ingraham records that on his anchoring at Owhyhee he met the *Hancock*, then lately arrived from the Northwest Coast, and spent some days in her company. She sailed at about that time for China and was there during that winter.

⁹² The identity of these ships is uncertain. Malaspina in the *Descubierta* and the *Atrevida* had been there, but sailed about the end of August. The *San Carlos* and the *Santa Saturnina* were probably still at Nootka, though they returned that fall to San Blas, but at what time is not known.

⁹³ This frightful monster the seaman described as being like an alligator Hoskins started at once to find it, but all he could discover was a piece of burnt log. When he spoke to the Indians about it they recognized it as the magic animal, Haiclick, and offered twenty skins for a specimen. "If they have the least piece of it in their canoe they are sure to kill a whale, which among them is deemed the greatest honour. Indeed a piece of it ensures success at all times and on all occasions."

their dead on the trees, first stowing them in a box 3 or 4 feet long. The Head and Legs are cut off to make good stowage, and little valuables that belong to the deaseas'd are bury'd with them. Capt. Gray went to an Indian Village for to look at a *Chief*, said to be very sick. On his arrivall he was received very cordially, and conducted to the sick man's house, which was full of people. In one Corner lay the Sick Chief, and around him eight strong men, which kept pressing his stomach with their hands, and making a most hideous Bow-wowng, in the poor fellow's ears. Upon the Captain's approach he suppos'd the Chief to be nearly dead, and order'd this band of *Doctors* to desist.⁹⁴

December 22. Having made him some *gruell* to take, the Chief soon came to a little, and order'd two Sea Otter skins as a present. After giving him a Wine toast he order'd him to be left to sleep, and visited a number of Chiefs houses, the masters of which treated him with an attention not very common among savages. (He *returned on board.*) I made an excursion to this same Village, not long after. As soon as I landed, Men, Women, and Children came down to the beach to receive me, but did not offer to molest the boat. Found the sick *Chief* much better, and reliev'd him from his pressing and noisy friends. The house was large and commodious, and wou'd hold fifty *Indians* very comfortably. All round was packages of Fish in *Boxes*, and decorated with *pearl shells*. Their furniture consisted chiefly of matts, and wooden boxes, which last serves to boil their fish in, which they easily do by applying red hot stones, till it boils. They neither scale or draw the fish, but as it comes from the water, so it goes into the box, to boil, or on the Coals to broil. There was severall fires about the house but being there being no chimnies, the smoak was too mighty for my eyes. They sleep on boards, rais'd about a foot from the ground, and covered with matts, rolling themselves up with furs. Over the sick man's head there was a board cut out in the shape of a heart, and stuck full of Otter's teeth, with a long spear on each side of him. His young wife did not appear to be affected at the sight of

⁹⁴ This was Yethlan, the youngest brother of Wickananish. The brief description of the practice of the Shamans agrees with other accounts.

her sick husband, but the Father and Mother was watching their Son, with the most parental affection. After boiling him some rice and leaving more with his mother, I left the village and returned safe on board.

25. This day was kept in mirth and festivity by all the *Columbia's* Crew, and the principal Chiefs of the sound, by invitation, din'd on board ship. The Natives took a walk around the work shops on shore. They was surprized at seeing three tire of wild fowl roasting, at one of the houses—indeed we was a little surprized at the novelty of the sight ourselves, for at least there was 20 Geese roasting at one immense fire, and the Ship's Crew appear'd very happy, most of them being on shore. The Indians cou'd not understand why the Ship's and houses was decorated with spruce bows. At 12 clock fir'd a federall Salute,⁹⁵ and ended the day toasting our *sweethearts* and *wifes*.

1792. *January* 1. This day, being down sound, with the Jolly boat after game. I stopt at the village. Visited *Yethlan* the sick Chief, and found him much better. The family treated me extremely well. I received many pressing invitations from the rest of the Chiefs, for to visit their houses, and complied with most of them, and was particularly pleas'd at visiting *Wickananish's* dwelling, who this day had given an entertainment⁹⁶ to all the warriors of his Villages, with many visitors from distant villages. As soon as the *King* saw me I was call'd towards him, and seated upon his right. This house was about 80 foot long, and 40 broad, and about 12 feet high, with a flat roof. The *King* was elevated about two feet higher than the company, with a Canopy over his head, stuck full of animals teeth. The Company consisted of above 100 men, all considerably advanced in years. The Women belonging to the house was in an apartment by themselves, busily employ'd making their Bark Garment. The Machines for that purpose,

⁹⁵ A salute of thirteen cannon shots. Martinez in his diary gives the following explanation: "They told me that the reason for not giving more shots each time was since there were thirteen of the American states and thirteen stars in the canton of their flag, they had orders from their Congress to fire these salvos with a like number of shots."

⁹⁶ This entertainment took place at Opitsitah, the regular dwelling place of the tribe, on Meares Island. Hoskins tells us that they had only returned from their winter village at Okerminnah a week or so before. He gives the date of the festivities as the 31st December and enters much more fully into the details.

is not unlike the Looms with us. They are very neat and dexterous in this business. The entertainment (which consisted of Fish Spawn mixed with Berries and train Oil,) was served up in wooden Bowls, handed by the lower Orders of males. I was invited strongly to partake, but the Smell was enough—therefore pleaded indisposition. After they had done, the remains was sent to the *females*. The King inform'd they was going to have a dance in the evening, and wish'd me for to stay. However I declin'd, and return'd on board. This Village was 3 leagues⁹⁷ from Adventure Cove. Capt. Hannah, a Chief of the village, Ahhousett sometimes came to see his old friends (as he call'd us). He resided 9 leagues from the Cove but was under the Jurisdiction of *Wickananish*.

6. This day one of the Chiefs of Juan De Fuca Straits came on board. He was upon a visit to Wickananish, and indeed had married his sister, inform'd us there was a Spanish Ship in the Straits, brought many *furs*.

17. Began to caulk the Sloop *Adventure's* bottom, it being completely planked up. I this day made an excursion to the Village, having put myself under the car of Tatoochkasettle,⁹⁸ one of the King's brothers, who conducted me in his *Canoe*. Upon my arrival was treated as usuall very politely. I took up my residence at Tatoochkasettle's house, who invited a large company to sup with him. After supper finding I wish'd to visit some other familys he sent his servants with lighted torches, for to conduct me. I return'd back about Midnight and found there was an excellent watch kept throughout the village, each one hooping at certain intervals throughout the night. My Indian friend had made me as comfortable a berth to sleep on as was in his power, but the House being full of smoak, and the young Children very fractious, occasion'd my sleeping but little all night. In the morning early observ'd most of the Men bathing on the Beach. On enquiring the cause, was inform'd that this day the King was going to give his Eldest Son the name of Wickananish, and take another

⁹⁷ Haswell gives the distance between Opitsitah and Adventure Cove as three miles.

⁹⁸ The eldest brother of Wickananish, and the Chief who had been decoyed on board and held until Attoo, the Sandwich Island boy, was returned. Evidently this insult still rankled in his breast, despite his outward appearance of friendliness.

upon himself, upon which account there was to be great rejoicings. About noon, upwards of 100 men assembled upon the beach in front of the *Village*, with the King at their head. Their dress, which was exactly uniform, consisted of a *Blankett*, made fast around the *Loins* with a Girdle, and reach'd about half way down their thighs. Their hair was turn'd up, and tyed with a thick bunch before and decorated with feathers. Their faces was painted of different colours, and their bodies of a deep red. Beads and fibres of Bark were woulded round their Ancles and Knees, and at a distance they made a grand, although savage appearance. They collected near the water, at one end of the village, in regular tiers, about four deep. At each wing many women were placed with Copper Boxes,⁹⁹ in which was small Stones, serving as part of the music. The procession moved slowly along, the front squatting on their hams, the others standing erect, with three of the King's brothers upon their shoulders, who were dancing and running from right to left, in that position while those under them was on the Continual move. The King kept in front, giving the word of Command. All their voices kept perfect tune with the rattling of the boxes. The rest of the inhabitants were seated along the beach viewing the performance. When they arrived opposite the King's house, they enter'd single file, and I followed to see the transactions within doors. About 30 of the principal *Actors* seated themselves in a Circle, and was presented with a piece of board and a small stick. This they used instead of a Drum. The whole Company then began to dance and sing, and the Musicians joining, made it very pleasing. But the *Smell* was too strong for my *Organs*. Therefore soon drew off. These *Natives* are mild and chearfull, with little of that savage appearance that Savages generally have. Their Complexions is very light Copper,¹⁰⁰ but they darken it with Oil and Paint. The Hair is coarse, long and black. 'T is a

⁹⁹ Hoskins also mentions such boxes. It is possible that they may have been manufactured from the sheets of copper purchased from the traders. It is certain that they were not manufactured from the native copper.

¹⁰⁰ Cook (Third Voyage, vol. 2, p. 303, 4to. ed. 1785) says that when the dirt and paint were well rubbed off "the whiteness of the skin appeared almost to equal that of Europeans; though rather of that effete cast which distinguishes those of our Southern nations." Almost every other voyager has made somewhat the same remark.

general custom to eat their own *Vermin*, and they are so plenty that they will often make a decent repast. The Men are generally thick set with flat noses and broad faces. The Women are pretty. Their eyes are rather small, and though they are not very quick and piercing, they give the countenance a frank, chearfull, and pleasing cast. We understood from the *Natives* that they sometimes made Human sacrifices, and shocking to relate, that they eat the flesh of such poor *victims*. However I do not believe that this custom is very common and only happens on some very particular Occasion. A prisoner of War is the person selected for this savage feast.¹⁰¹

18. This day severall chiefs came on board, one of which we found was busily employ'd talking with our Sandwich Island lad. Their conversation was soon put a stop to, and the *Lad* examin'd, but he denyd that the Chief ask'd him any improper questions. These *Natives*, always behaving so friendly,¹⁰² occasion'd us to place too much confidence in them, and what a pity it is, that we cou'd not leave this *port*, with that opinion of them which we had heretofore held; But alas! We find them to be still a savage tribe, and only waiting an opportunity for to Massacre the whole of us, in cold blood. The Ship had been brought some days previous to this, to a bluff point of Rocks, where she lay'd as to a wharfe, not even touching the ground at low water. The Cannon and all the stores was landed here, as we was about hauling on the beach to grave and pay the Bottom. The situation of the Ship at this period was very favorable to their views,¹⁰³ and must have encouraged them with the hope of destroying the whole of us; without the loss of a man on their side. However in this they wou'd have been mistaken, as we kept a strong watch, under the conduct of an Officer and was always guarded against

¹⁰¹ Hoskins accompanied Boit on this visit and enters much more fully into the description of this entertainment.

¹⁰² Hoskins nevertheless records that in the preceding October a hunting party had had some difficulty with the natives, who had behaved in a very rude manner, striving to take their fire arms from them and seeking to capture Captain Gray. Though Boit was of the party, he makes no allusion to the occurrence. It was thought that this action was instigated by Tootiscoosettle in revenge for his treatment already mentioned.

¹⁰³ Hoskins opposed this move, as it had the effect of separating the crew and left the ship and the fort out of sight of each other. "I only told Captain Gray," he says, "I hoped the natives would not take any advantage of the opportunity which was presented them."

surprize. But shou'd we have been over pow'd by numbers, our friends perhaps never wou'd have known our sad fate.

But fortunately, in the evening, the Sandwich Island lad made a confession to his Master, (as follows):¹⁰⁴ He said *Tatoochkasettle*, (the Chief) told him, that Wickananish was about to take the Ship and Massacre all the Crew, and said he shou'd be a great man if he wou'd wet our *Musketts*, and steal for him some *Bulletts*. He said they shou'd come that night, or the next, or the next, and told him to come over to them, when the fray first began. This news alarm'd the Ship's Company exceedingly, and we immediately got in readiness to receive them. Capt. Gray call'd his officers together, for to consult what was best to be done, and we was unanimously of opinion that 't was best to haul the Ship on the *ways*, and grave her, as the tide then suited, and we cou'd retreat in safety to the Block House shou'd the Natives appear, (where we had several *Cannon* mounted and good *quarters*.) This plan was immediately put in execution, leaving a strong guard on the point for to guard the *Stores*, with necessary signals shou'd they want relief. By midnight one side of the Ship was finish'd, when we heard a most hideous hooping of *Indians*, and at every shout they seem'd to come nearer. Every man immediately took his arms, and stood ready, both on board ship and at the Log house. They kept hooping about one hour, when they ceas'd and 't is probable retreated, lamenting their hard luck, that the cruel plan was so completely frustrated. The guard at the *point* saw many large Canoes off the entrance of the Cove, but like brave fellows, they scorn'd to quit the station. In the morning tide we finish'd the Ship, and haul'd again to the point, and in the course of the Day took on board all the stores and cannon, and moor'd off in the Cove, in our old berth. Scal'd the Guns, which made all rattle again, and I believe never was more work done in so short a time. But *Men determin'd* can do most any thing.

It does not appear that *Wickananish* wish'd to conquer a part of us, as he had frequent opportunities to have accomplish'd

¹⁰⁴ Both Haswell and Hoskins tell the same story, in the main; though their accounts are more circumstantial and more thrilling.

it, for two or three times a week a boat was down at the *Village*,¹⁰⁵ generally with an Officer and four Sailors, but I suppose he very prudently thought, that shou'd he cut a boat's Crew off, there was still enough left, for to destroy his Villages. The Chiefs had been telling us for some time that they was going to war with a distant tribe and wish'd for us to lend them Musketts and Ammunition, which *some* of these fellows used as well as ourselves. We had observed of late that they did not seem so cheerful as common, but seem'd to be deeply wrapt in thought. After this, no more of the Natives visited Adventure Cove, except some old women and young girls, who brought us berries and fish—and most propable they was sent as *spies*.¹⁰⁶

March 4. This day the Ship was completely rig'd, hold stowed, and in every respect in readiness for sea. She look'd like a *fiddle*! The King's Mother came along side and brought some otter skins which we purchased. She told Captain Gray that the *Moon* inform'd her Son if he come to the Ship he wou'd be killd.

21. This day departed this life, after a lingering sickness, Benj. Harding¹⁰⁷ (*Boatswain*). He was a smart, active, and steady man, and one that know'd, and did *his* duty in every respect. Deposited his remains, next morning, near to the Block house, after performing divine service. Promoted a Seaman to his place.

22. Launch'd the Sloop *Adventure*.¹⁰⁸ She went off ad-

¹⁰⁵ At the very time of this attempt Hoskins was making a visit to the village Opitsitah. He found warlike preparations proceeding, and was not allowed the same freedom of roaming in and out amongst the houses that he had theretofore enjoyed. When he returned the greatest consternation prevailed on the ship. The crew were much rejoiced at his safe return, telling him that they never expected to see him again. It was then he learned of the attempted capture of the *Columbia*.

¹⁰⁶ Hoskins says that these people would not exchange their fish and leeks for anything but powder and shot, and in reply "Captain Gray ordered them to immediately depart with a promise of giving them a-plenty of both articles when we should come down to Opitsitah." This may perhaps be interpreted to mean that already Captain Gray had formed the intention of destroying the village.

¹⁰⁷ "This man," says Hoskins, "was a good seaman and well respected in his office the spirits of this man was surprising the night we expected to be attacked by the natives at a time when he was not able to be removed from his bed he begged that he might have a pair of pistols laid along side of him that should the natives overpower us he might shoot the savage who came to take his life then says he I should die in peace."

¹⁰⁸ Boit makes the date of this launching 22nd March; but Hoskins and Haswell both say the 23rd February.

mirably.¹⁰⁹ Took a hawser and got her along side the Ship, and soon had her rig'd.

24. The Sloop *Adventure* is ready for sea.¹¹⁰ Capt. Haswell, 1st mate of ship, went on board and took charge, taking with him Mr. Waters (4th mate) and a crew of ten Seamen and tradesmen. I think she was one of the prettiest vessels I ever saw, of about 45 tons, with a handsome figure head and false badges, and other ways touch'd off in high stile. There was not a Butt either in the Planks on deck or sides, and the plank not above nine inches wide. She was victuall'd for a four months cruize, and supplied with Articles for the Queen Charlotte Isles trade, on which route 't was meant she shou'd go, while the Ship proceeding along the Southern Coast.

25. Pleasant weather, wind at SE. In the morning got the Remainder of our affairs from the shore, and unmoor'd. Left *Adventure* Cove, and stood down Sound, with the Sloop in company. We left our log houses all standing. Anchor'd abreast the Village *Opitsatah*, but found it entirely deserted.¹¹¹ Observ'd very few Canoes moving.

During our long tarry in *Adventure* Cove, we all enjoy'd good health, although the Crew was at times very much exposed. The *boatswain's* sickness commenced before our arrival in the Cove. The weather was generally very fine, and very seldom had Snow, and never Ice thicker than a Spanish Dollar, but experienced frequent heavy rains. We pick'd Whurtle and Blue Berries, throughout the winter, which was very fine, and Whurtle Berry pudings was quite common with us. We kept the Crew continually supplied with Spruce beer, and their breakfast and supper was Tea boiled from the green *Spruce* boughs sweetned with Molasses. Perhaps this method kept the Scurvy off. However they did not eat much Salt provisions, as we was generally supplied with Poultry, Venison, and fish.

¹⁰⁹ Hoskins says that on the first attempt she ran a little more than her length and stopped; the ground proving false the ways sank under her; the carpenters relaid the ways and she was successfully launched the next day. Haswell is to the same effect with slightly different details. The first attempt was made on 22nd February.

¹¹⁰ This took, according to Haswell and Hoskins, about a month, and not two days, as Boit has it.

¹¹¹ The natives had suddenly removed to Echahchist on Village Island. This village is shown on Meares map already mentioned (Meares Voyages, p. 202, 4to. ed.). So precipitate had been their flight that they had left many of their domestic utensils scattered about their houses and hidden in the bushes.

27. I am sorry to be under the necessity of remarking that this day I was *sent*, with three boats all well man'd and arm'd, to destroy the village of Opitsatah. It was a Command I was no ways tenacious of, and am grieved to think Capt. Gray shou'd let his passions go so far.¹¹² This village was about half a mile in diameter, and contained upwards of 200 Houses, generally well built for *Indians*; every door that you enter'd was in resemblance to an human and Beasts head, the passage being through the mouth, besides which there was much more rude carved work about the dwellings some of which was by no means *inelegant*. This fine village, the work of Ages, was in a short time totally destroy'd.

CRUIZING TO THE S. AND E. OF DE FUCA STRAITS

April 2. Weigh'd in company with the Sloop, and left Clio-quot harbour, and stood to the South'd with the Ship, while the Sloop haul'd her wind to the Northward. Parted, with loud *Huzzas*, a proper *rendevous* being appointed.

3. On the 3d passed De Fuca Straits, experience blowing weather on the coast, but generally keep sight of the Land. The Shore seems sandy, and the land of a moderate height, with much clear ground fit for cultivation.¹¹³ Lat. 45° 15'. There is regular soundings of this Coast, which is not the case to the Northward.

7. N. Latt. 44° 56'; W. Long. 122° 52'. Very blowing weather, and quite cold. Beating off the Coast, waiting for to find a good harbour.¹¹⁴ The weather grows pleasant.

9. N. Latt. 44° 24'; W. Long. 122° 17' Pleasant weather, wind NW. Running along shoar to the South and East'd, about 2 miles off the land trended NBE. and NBW., and look'd very pleasant. The Shore made in sandy beaches, and the land rose gradually back, into high hills and the beautiful

¹¹² Neither Haswell nor Hoskins mentions the destruction of this village Opitsitah; but there is no reason to doubt the fact. Gray had made a threat to give the natives powder and shot when he reached the village. His conduct after the attempt to take the ship was that of an angry man; Hoskins records many instances of his exhibitions of passion, and complains bitterly of this conduct, which was only ruining the chances of trade with these people, who were great hunters.

(Notes 113-138 inclusive by T. C. Elliott.)

¹¹³ Cruising to southward along coast of state of Washington, and this observation taken off Cape Lookout.

¹¹⁴ Observation taken a little north of Cape Foulweather on coast of Oregon.

fields of grass, interspersed among the wood lands, made it delightfull.¹¹⁵

10. N. Latt. $43^{\circ} 45'$; W. Long. $122^{\circ} 11'$. Abreast a small inlet in the land, which had some the appearance of an harbour. Hove to for some canoes that were coming off. These Natives talk'd a different language from any we have before heard. Their canoes had square stems, and the blades of the paddles oval. We purchas'd of them many fine Otter skins for Copper and Iron. They had some raw *Buffaloe* in the canoes, which they offer'd us for sale, and greedily devour'd some of it, in that state, as a recommendation. I'm fearfull these fellows are *Caniballs*.¹¹⁶ Mr. *Smith*, 2d Officer, was sent in the Cutter to look for an harbour but was unsuccessful. Bore off and made sail. Cape Gregory (so call'd by Capt. Cook) bore SE. Variation. Amp'd $15^{\circ} 57'$ East.

11. N. Latt. $42^{\circ} 50'$; W. Long. $122^{\circ} 3'$; Amp'd $16^{\circ} 42'$ E. Some Canoes came along side full of Indians and brought a few Otter and Beaver skins. Cape Mendocin bore ESE. 2 leagues.¹¹⁷ Hauld again to the Northward.

17. N. Latt. $44^{\circ} 54'$; W. Long. $122^{\circ} 23'$; Azi. $16^{\circ} 57'$ E. Sent the Boat, under charge of 2d officer, to examine an inlet abreast the Ship, to see if there was safe anchorage, but was *unsuccessful*. A large Canoe came along side full of the Natives. By their behaviour the *Columbia* was the first ship they ever saw.¹¹⁸

22. N. Latt. $46^{\circ} 39'$; W. Long $122^{\circ} 50'$; Azi. $17^{\circ} 33'$ E. Still beating about, in pursuit of anchorage. Sent the boat in shore often, but cou'd find no safe harbour. The Natives fre-

¹¹⁵ Now off mouth of Alsea river and Bayview, Oregon.

¹¹⁶ Off the mouth of Umpqua river in Oregon. Of course, there were neither buffalo nor cannibals there, but with reference to the claim that cannibalism was practiced on the Northwest Coast of America it is of interest to quote a private letter from so high an authority as Dr. C. F. Newcombe, of Victoria, B. C., who says that no one making that statement has admitted ever being a witness to such an act. Then, referring to Cook, Ledyard, Meares, Galiano & Valdes, Malaspina and Roquefeuil, he says: "In none of these is there anything said that would give grounds for thinking that cannibalism in our province was anything more than a ceremonial affair." * * "Coming down to our own times, if you will look up that well known work of Dr. Boaz, 'The Social Organization etc. of the Kwakiutl Indians,' you will find ample evidence for believing that this tribe has to a very recent date kept up the observance of what to them is a religious rite."

¹¹⁷ Nearly as far south as Cape Blanco, on Oregon coast.

¹¹⁸ Returning northward. No inlet charted opposite this location. If the legendary claim that Capt. Gray landed on the coast of Oregon is true, this journal does not reveal the fact.

quently came along side, and brought Otter furs and fish. Their language to us was unintelligible. Experience strong currents setting to the southward. We have frequently seen many appearances of good harbours, but the currents and squally weather hindered us from a strict examination. However Capt. Gray is determin'd to persevere in the pursuit.¹¹⁹

AT ANCHOR OFF THE VILLAGE OF KENKOMITT

27. N. Latt. $47^{\circ} 52'$; W. Long. $123^{\circ} 30'$ O A. This day stood in shore, the weather having become more settled, and anchor'd with the Kedge in 15 fm. sand, abreast a village, call'd by the Natives *Kenkomitt*,¹²⁰ which was situate on a small Hill, just back of the Beach. The Indians brought us a fine lot of *Skins*, which we got chiefly for Copper, but the weather coming again unsettled, we weigh'd towards evening and stood off making short hanks off and on, shore. These Indians spoke the same language as those in De Fuca Straits.

28. This day spoke his Britannic Majesty's Ships *Discovery* and *Chatham*, commanded by Capt. *George Vancouver*, and Lieutenant Wm. Broughton, from England, on a voyage of discovery.¹²¹ Left England April 1st, 1791, Do Othaheita January, '92, and Sandwich Isles March, '92. A boat boarded us from the *Discovery*, and we gave them all the information in our power. Especially as respected the Straits of Juan De Fuca, which place they was then in search of. They bore away for the Straits mouth, which was not far distant. Stood in and drain'd the village we was at yesterday and then bore off after the English ships.

29. Pass'd Tatooch Isle, close on board, and left a large ledge of Rocks without us, and stood into the Straits of De

¹¹⁹ Now off Willapa Harbor on Washington coast and no mention at all of mouth of Columbia river in passing. The longitude cited must be disregarded as too far east, an error common to the observations noted in this journal.

¹²⁰ This village was close to a point now charted as Teakwhit Head, some miles southeast of the mouth of Quillayute river on the coast of Washington. A small stream emptying there had some years ago the Indian name Kenehenwhitt, according to O. B. Sperlin, of Tacoma. Possibly identical with "Queenwithe" mentioned by Barkley in 1787 and Meares in 1788.

¹²¹ Compare with Vancouver's Voyages, 1st Edit., vol. 1, page 213, where it is stated that on April 28th Capt. Vancouver anchored off Destruction Island, but made sail at 3 A. M. on morning of Sunday, the 29th, and at 4 A. M. sighted the *Columbia*, and had his officers on board of her at 7 A. M. This would have been about off the mouth of Quillayute river. A New Vancouver Journal, published in Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. 5, p. 133, puts the date as 30th of April.

Fuca. Many Indians came off and brought plenty of furs. The English ships came too towards evening on the South entrance of the straits. In the morning they got under way and stood up. We stood in and anchor'd, to the Westward of Cape Flattery, in 17 fm. Trade not very brisk. Got under weigh again towards evening and stood to the S. and E. along shore.

May 1. N. Latt. $47^{\circ} 52'$; W. Long. $123^{\circ} 30'$; Azi. $17^{\circ} 30'$ E. Anchor'd off the Village Kenekomitt, in the place we left on the 27th April. Tatooch Isle bore WBS. 2 leagues. A brisk trade for furs.¹²²

3. Hove up and made sail for the Straits, the weather looking threatening and soon enter'd them, found smooth water. Kept beating to and fro, in preference to casting anchor.

5. Stood in toward Tatooch's Isle. The Natives brought plenty of *Halibut* and other fish, but few *Skins*. Stretch'd out from De Fuca Straits and bore off to the S. and E., running along shore, about 2 miles from land.

6. Hove to for some Canoes to come up. They brought us fish but no *skins*. Bore off. These fellows belong'd to a small village in sight from the Ship, call'd *Golieuw*.¹²³

AT ANCHOR IN GRAY'S HARBOUR¹²⁴

7. N. Latt. $46^{\circ} 58'$. Saw an inlet in the land, which had all the appearance of an harbour. Sent the Cutter, under charge of 2d Officer, to examine it. Laying to, a strong current with Squally weather. The Boat returned, and the Officer reported that he cou'd find nothing but breakers at the entrance, but farther in it had the appearance of a good harbour. This appearance being so flattering, Capt. Gray was determin'd not to give it up. Therefore ordering the boat a head to sound, with necessary signalls, the Ship stood in for the weather bar

¹²² The *Columbia* followed the ships of Capt. Vancouver as far as the entrance to the Straits of Juan de Fuca, but then returned to the southward, for trade and discovery.

¹²³ Our Indian name, Quillayute. The village is La Push, at mouth of the river of that name.

¹²⁴ Gray's Harbor, State of Washington. So named by the under officers of the ship *Columbia*, as indicated by this and Haswell's Journal. Capt. Vancouver adopted this name, but Capt. Gray always referred to it as Bulfinch's Harbor, in honor of one of the principal owners of his ship. Compare with entries in the Log of the *Columbia* (printed herewith), giving much the same information.

and we soon see from the Mast head a passage in between the breakers. Bore off and run in NEBE., having from 4 to 9 fathom sand, an excellent strong tide setting out. The boat having made a signal for anchorage and a good harbour, we continued to stretch on till completely within the shoals when we anchor'd in 5 fm. in an excellent harbour. Vast many canoes came off, full of Indians. They appear'd to be a savage set, and was well arm'd, every man having his Quiver and Bow slung over his shoulder. Without doubt we are the first Civilized people that ever visited this port, and these poor fellows view'd us and the Ship with the greatest astonishment. Their language was different from any we have yet heard. The Men were entirely naked, and the Women, except a small Apron before made of *Rushes*, was also in a state of Nature. They was stout made, and very ugly. Their canoes was from the Logs, rudely cut out, with upright ends. We purchas'd many furs and fish.

. N. Latt. 46° 58'; W. Long. 123° 0'. Vast many canoes along side, full of Indians. They brought a great many furs which we purchas'd cheap, for Blankets and Iron. We was fearfull to send a Boat on discovery, but I've no doubt we was at the Entrance of some great river, as the water was brackish, and the tide set out half the time. This evening heard the hooting of Indians, all hands was immediately under arms. Several canoes was seen passing near the Ship, but was dispers'd by firing a few Muskets over their heads. At Midnight we heard them again, and soon after as 't was bright moonlight, we see the canoes approaching to the Ship. We fird severall cannon over them, but still persisted to advance, with the war Hoop.¹²⁵ At length a large canoe with at least 20 Men in her got within ½ pistol shot of the quarter, and with a Nine-pounder, loaded with langerege and about 10

¹²⁵ Capt. Gray, in his log, makes no mention of this attack. He had similar experiences on the coast of Vancouver Island and further north. The circumstances suggest the presence of a war party from the south. The natives there would have been of the Chehalis or Chickales tribe of the Chinookan family. Compare with Vancouver's Voyages, 1st Edit., vol. 2, pp. 79-92, where is related the visit to this harbor of Lieut. Joseph Whitbey in the *Daedalus*, who remained there Oct. 19th-Nov. 10th, 1792, and encountered very few Indians and those very peaceable. Whitbey bestowed the names Point Brown and Point New, which still remain. Capt. Gray left no nomenclature here.

Muskets, loaded with Buck shot, we dash'd her all to pieces, and no doubt kill'd every soul in her. The rest soon made a retreat. I do not think that they had any conception of the power of Artillery. But they was too near us for to admit of any hesitation how to proceed.

9. Very pleasant weather. Many canoes came along side from down River¹²⁶ and brought plenty of Skins; likewise some canoes from the tribes that first visited us, and their countenances plainly show'd that those unlucky savages who last Night fell by the Ball, was a part of the same tribe, for we cou'd plainly understand by their signs and gestures that they were telling the very circumstance, to their acquaintances from down River, and by Pointing to the Cannon, and endeavoring to explain the noise they made, made us still more certain that they had no Knowledge of fire arms previous to our coming amongst them. I am sorry we was oblidged to kill the poor Devils, but it cou'd not with safety be avoided. These Natives brought us some fine Salmon, and plenty of Beaver Skins, with some Otters, and I believe had we staid longer among them we shou'd have done well.

11. Weigh'd and came to sail, and stretch'd clear of the bar.¹²⁷ Named the harbour we had left, after our Captain. Standing to the South.

AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S RIVER

12. N. Latt. 46° 7'; W. Long. 122° 47'. This day¹²⁸ saw an appearance of a spacious harbour abreast the Ship, haul'd wind for it, observ'd two sand bars making off, with a passage

¹²⁶ Boit uses the expression "down river" here and later when referring to Indians coming to trade from *upper parts* of the Chehalis and Columbia rivers.

¹²⁷ The *Columbia* was a ship of only 212 tons, as certified by the collector of the port of Boston, and drew only six to eight feet of water, which was the extreme draft of vessels entering Gray's Harbor before any dredging was done on the bar. The fact that Capt. Gray left this harbor at evening and sailed directly southward all night, and the next morning "at 4 A. M. saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-southeast, distance six leagues," suggests that he had obtained from the Indians of Gray's Harbor some definite information as to the existence of a large river at Cape Disappointment. Boit mentions later on that he recognized some of these same Indians around the ship in the Columbia river, but this is doubtful.

¹²⁸ Compare with Log of the *Columbia*, which is printed herewith. For contemporaneous mention of this discovery, consult "Log of H. M. S. Chatham" in Oregon Hist. Quarterly, vol. 18, page 231 *et seq.*; Letter of John Hoskins, the supercargo or clerk on board the *Columbia*, to Jos. Barrell, one of her owners, in archives of Mass. Hist. Society, Boston, said letter being dated at San Lorenzo, Nootka Sound, Aug. 21st, 1792; Capt. Geo. Vancouver's *Voyages*, 1st Edit., vols. 1 and 2; Journal of Capt. Jos. Ingraham, of the brig *Hope*, in Library of Congress.

between them to a fine river. Out pinnace and sent her in ahead and followed with the Ship under short sail, carried in from $\frac{1}{2}$ three to 7 fm. and when over the bar had 10 fm. water, quite fresh. The River¹²⁹ extended to the NE. as far as eye cou'd reach, and water fit to drink¹³⁰ as far down as the *Bars*, at the entrance. We directed our course up this noble *River* in search of a Village. The beach was lin'd with Natives, who rang along shore following the Ship. Soon after, above 20 Canoes came off, and brought a good lot of Furs, and Salmon, which last they sold two for a board Nail. The furs we likewise bought cheap, for Copper and Cloth. They appear'd to view the Ship with the greatest astonishment and no doubt we was the first civilized people that they ever saw. We observ'd some of the same people we had before seen at Gray's harbour, and perhaps that was a branch of this same River. At length we arriv'd opposite to a large village, situate on the North side of the River, about 5 leagues from the entrance. Came¹³¹ to in 10 fm. sand, about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from shore. The River at this place was about 4 miles over. We purchas'd 4 Otter Skins for a Sheet of Copper, Beaver Skins, 2 Spikes each, and other land furs, 1 Spike each.

¹²⁹ The Columbia river (or Columbia's river, as named by Captain Gray), the existence of which had been the very positive belief of geographers, navigators and explorers for nearly two hundred years. Its mouth had been associated with the fabled Straits of Anian, and the voyage of the Spanish navigator, Martin de Aguilar (1602). Its westward flow and watershed had been reported by Charlevoix and the French explorers in the Mississippi Valley and beyond during the first half of the fifteenth century under the broad designation River of the West. Its upper courses had been strangely confused with those of the upper Missouri by Major Robert Rogers in 1765, who then applied the name Ouragon. Its theoretical source had been blantly placed in northern Minnesota by Jonathan Carver in 1778, who called it the Oregon; and its true source was not discovered until 1807 by David Thompson. In 1775 the Spanish navigator, Bruno Heceta, sailed up to its mouth, made an astronomical observation and bestowed names upon river, bay and the two capes, but these names did not become permanent. Thirteen years later Capt. John Meares, an Englishman, after similar examination, declared that no such river existed, and left the name Cape Disappointment to commemorate his warped or ignorant opinion. In April, 1792, Capt. Geo. Vancouver examined the opening at longer range and recognized Cape Disappointment and confirmed the opinion of Capt. Meares. Now Capt. Robert Gray confirms the discovery by Heceta and actually sails into the long looked for river.

¹³⁰ Explained by the fact that the river was then in flood with the spring freshets. In October of the same year Lieut. Broughton of the *Chatham* did not find this condition of fresh water, and did not find as much depth of water on the sand bars further upstream. This accounts considerably for the criticisms by Broughton and Vancouver of the chart or sketch of the river given by Capt. Gray to Capt. Vancouver when at Nootka. That chart has never been found for reproduction, but the chart showing Lieut. Broughton's survey in October-November of this same year (1792) is reprinted herewith.

¹³¹ This anchorage was a little southeast of the R. R. station now known as McGowan's and a little southwest of Point Ellice on the north bank of the river. It is practically the same as that of the *Chatham* on October 21st, 1792, as indicated on the chart herewith.

We lay in this place till the 20th May,¹³² during which time we put the Ship in good order and fill'd up all the *water* casks along side, it being very good. These Natives talk'd the same language as those farther South, but we cou'd not learn it. Observ'd that the canoes that came from down river, brought no otter skins, and I believe the otter constantly keeps in Salt water. They however always came well stocked with land furs, and capital Salmon. The tide set down the whole time and was rapid. Whole trees sometimes come down with the *Stream*. The Indians inform'd us there was 50 Villages on the banks of this river.

15. N. Latt. 46° 7'; W. Long. 122° 47'. On the 15th took up the anchor, and stood up River, but soon found the water to be shoal so that the Ship took the ground, after proceeding 7 or 8 miles from our first station. However soon got off again. Sent the Cutter and found the main Channel was on the South side,¹³³ and that there was a sand bank in the middle. As we did not expect to procure Otter furs at any distance from the Sea, we contented ourselves in our present situation,¹³⁴ which was a very pleasant one. I landed abreast the ship with Capt. Gray to view the Country and take possession,^{135-135½} leaving charge with the 2d Officer. Found

¹³² This amplification discloses that the writing of this journal was not diurnal, but this entry at some later date, presumably on May 20th, when the ship left the river. This probably explains the unimportant divergence of one day between the dates given by Capt. Gray and Boit.

¹³³ Capt. Gray found that the deep water or ship's channel of the river then, as now, crossed the river from Harrington Point to Tongue Point and followed the south bank to Point Adams, but then crossed again into Baker's Bay behind Cape Disappointment. Sand Island was then attached to Point Adams and lay directly in what is now the deep water channel off that point. For discussion of this consult vol. 18, pp. 242-3 of this quarterly. Lieut. Broughton's chart does not show this deep water channel.

¹³⁴ The latitude cited is practically correct, but the longitude a full degree too far east. This anchorage was somewhere near Point Gray, which is the location of the speculative townsite of Frankfort, now shown on commercial maps of the north bank of the river. According to the table of distances by the government engineers, this point is seventeen and a half miles from the sea. Boit does not record all the movements of the ship on May 14th, 15th and 16th, and for this compare with Log of the *Columbia*, printed herewith.

¹³⁵ The words "and take possession" were inserted at a later time and are in quite a different ink.—W. C. F.

^{135½} As indicated by Mr. Ford, this is an interpolation. It suggests a ceremony which is not yet known to have actually taken place, and one which would have been of great value to the U. S. officials during the boundary disputes prior to the treaty of 1846. During the first session of the 32nd Congress of the U. S. a bill was introduced for the relief of Martha Gray, widow of Capt. Robert Gray, and of the heirs of Capt. John Kendrick (S. B. Bill No. 526), and in that connection on Aug. 11th, 1842, a report was filed which contained unsupported statements as to such an act of taking possession. In "Early Days in Old Oregon" (McClurg, 1916), there appears the positive statement of the author that such an act was performed, but no references are given to support it. If proven this will become a very interesting item of history.

much clear ground, fit for cultivation, and the woods mostly clear from underbrush. None of the Natives come near us.

18. Shifted the Ship's berth to her Old Station abreast the Village *Chinoak*, command'd by a chief named *Polack*.¹³⁶ Vast many canoes, full of Indians, from different parts of the River were constantly along side. Capt. Gray named this river *Columbia's*, and the North entrance Cape Hancock, and the South Point, *Adams*.¹³⁷ This River in my opinion, wou'd be a fine place for to set up a *Factory*. The Indians are very numerous, and appear'd very civil (not even offering to steal). During our short stay we collected 150 Otter, 300 Beaver, and twice the Number of other land furs. The river abounds with excellent *Salmon*, and most other River fish, and the Woods with plenty of Moose and Deer, the skins of which was brought us in great plenty, and the Banks produces a ground Nut, which is an excellent substitute for either bread or Potatoes. We found plenty of Oak, Ash, and Walnut trees, and clear ground in plenty, which with little labour might be made fit to raise such seeds as is necessary for the sustenance of inhabitants, and in short a factory set up here, and another at Hancock's River, in the Queen Charlotte Isles, wou'd engross the whole trade of the NW. Coast (with the help [of] a few small coasting vessells).

20. This day¹³⁸ left Columbia's River, and stood clear of the bars, and bore off to the Northward. The Men, at Columbia's River, are strait limb'd, fine looking fellows, and the Women are very pretty. They are all in a state of Nature, except the females, who wear a leaf Apron—(perhaps 't was a fig leaf. But some of our gentlemen, that examin'd them pretty close, and near, both within and without reported, that

¹³⁶ Evidently a predecessor of Comcomly, the one-eyed potentate of the Chinook Indians during so many years of the fur trade period, whose daughters were given in marriage to some of the traders.

¹³⁷ This name is still officially recognized, but the name given to the northern cape did not become permanent. Captain Heceta named the southern point Cabo Frondoso because of the trees and brush which then grew down to the edge of the beach. Astoria, on the southern bank fifteen miles inland, was the first trading post on the lower river and Fort Vancouver, one hundred miles inland and on the north bank, became the first Factory, meaning thereby the residence and headquarters of the Chief Factors, who managed the business of the district.

¹³⁸ Now the two accounts, Capt. Gray's and Boit's, synchronize. The dates given by Capt. Gray are official and take precedence, and it is still correct to say that the Columbia river was first entered by white men on May 11th, 1792. A similar divergence of one day appears in the narrative of Capt. Vancouver the following October.

it was not a leaf, but a nice wove mat in resemblance!! and so we go—thus, thus—and no War!—!

21. N. Latt. 47° 55'. Abreast the Village *Goliu*, hove to and purchas'd some Skins from the Natives, then bore off to the North and West.

22. N. Latt. 48° 20'; W. Long. 124° 32'. Saw Tatooch's Isle and Cape Flattery, on the S. and E. entrance of Juan De Fuca straits (bound to the North'd) for to meet the Sloop *Adventure*.

23. N. Latt. 49° 9'; W. Long. 128° 0' O Ɔ * Ɔ. Pass'd Clioquot harbour, fine fresh gales, at SE.

24. N. Latt. 50° 10'; W. Long. 128° 10'. Pass'd Woody point, at 2 miles distant. Several canoes put off from Columbia's Cove, but we did not stop.

AT ANCHOR IN ST. PATRICK HARBOUR

25. N. Latt. 50° 30'; W. Long. 128° 30'. This day the Ship being abreast a fine inlet, dispatch'd Mr. Smith, in the Cutter to examine it. Soon after the Boat had a signal for a harbour. Haul'd our wind and stood in shore and anchor'd 15 fm. mud and sand, in a complete Snug Cove.¹³⁹ Many canoes came along side, full of *Indians*. They was all dress'd in War *Armour*,¹⁴⁰ and completely arm'd with Bows, arrows and Spears, and had altogether quite a savage appearance. I believe they was fearful we shou'd rob their village, which was at no great distance as they appear'd much agitated. However soon began a brisk trade for Otter furs. We landed, with the boats, and got Wood and Broom Stuff, but the Indians wishing to be troublesome, soon give over this business—indeed I was obliged to knock one of them down with my Musket.

¹³⁹ It is difficult to identify this cove. If the latitude could be relied on it should be in Quatsino Sound; but no such cove exists there near the ocean as this cove manifestly was. The reference to the fine inlet and the complete snug cove would fit San Josef Bay and Sea Otter Cove, which lies just west of it. Meares gives on page 326, 4to. ed., a representation of Sea Otter Cove and fixes its latitude as 50° 41'. Unfortunately, however, Boit says they anchored in fifteen fathoms and Sea Otter Cove has only five fathoms at its entrance and one to three fathoms inside.

¹⁴⁰ Captain Cook tells us that this "armour" appeared to be the skin of elk tanned; it covered them from the breast almost to the heels; it was not only sufficiently strong to resist arrows, but even spears could not pierce it. (Cook's Third Voyage, vol. 2, p. 308, 4to. ed. 1785.) Hoskins speaks of "moose hide buff leathured which is one of their war garments." Fraser records in his journal under date 1st July, 1808, "The Chief made me a present of a coat of mail to make shoes."

AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S COVE

28. N. Latt. $50^{\circ} 30'$; W. Long. $128^{\circ} 30'$ O \mathbb{C} . Weigh'd and came to sail, and left this harbour, which we named *St. Patrick's*.^{140½} The *Indians* were much the same as the *Nootka* tribes. Standing towards Woody point, which was in sight. Towards evening, anchor'd in Columbia's Cove, in our former berth, past many natives along side, and seem'd much pleased at our visiting them again.

29. N. Latt. $50^{\circ} 6'$; W. Long. $128^{\circ} 12'$. Vast concourse of *Indians* coming off, among whom was *Necklar* chief of the sound. They brought many more furs than they did the last season we visited them. Found these Natives so chearful and oblidging, that we did not apprehend any danger in sending parties on shore after Wood and Water. However, they soon discover'd our Crew was diminish'd, and was very inquisitive for to know what had become of the rest of us. We thought prudent for to tell them that they was asleep below. I mistrust that the *Indians* did not believe us, but probably supposed our Shipmates had been kill'd. At 10 in the evening, a number of large canoes full of People, came into the Cove. They halted near some rocks about Pistol shot from the Ship, and there waited about ten minutes, during which time all hands was brought to arms, upon deck in readiness to receive them. Soon after a large War Canoe, with about 25 *Indians*, paddled off for the Ship. We hail'd them, but they still persisted, and other canoes was seen following, upon which Capt. Gray order'd us to fire, which we did so effectually as to kill or wound every soul in the canoe. She drifted along side, but we push'd her clear, and she drove to the North side of the Cove, under the shade of the trees. 'T was bright moon light and the woods *echoed* with the dying groans of these unfortunate Savages. We observ'd many canoes passing and repassing the Cove, at a small distance, in all probability they was after the poor dead *Indians*. They soon after ceas'd

^{140½} Captain Hanna had named *St. Patrick's Bay* in this vicinity. It is *San Josef Bay* on our maps of today. In it Hanna gives 15 fathoms, but it is not a snug cove, being three miles in length and two miles in breadth at its entrance and open to all winds except from the north. There is no contemporary account to assist us here; for *Hoskins' Narrative* ends with the departure from Clayoquot and Haswell was at this time on the *Adventure*.

groaning, and we neither see nor heard any thing of them after.¹⁴¹

We always found these Natives very friendly but they soon discover'd how thin the Ship's Company was now to what it was when we visited them before, and I believe it is impossible to keep friends with savages any longer than they stand in fear of you. But I cannot think they had any intention of boarding the Ship but were after a small anchor, which they in the course of the day see placed on some rocks (above water) for to steady the Ship, and when taken off at dusk they had left the Ship. But still they was daring fellows to think they cou'd steal the *anchor* of a moon light night, within pistol shot of the Ship. Capt. Gray did not wish to fire upon them, for we cou'd easily have blown them to pieces, while they was holding a conference abreast the Rocks. They first stopt all by firing a *cannon* or two among them, and the reason we suffer'd them to approach so near before firing was that we were in hopes they wou'd miss the *Anchor* and then leave the Cove, for we wish'd much to keep friendly with these Indians, as this was the appointed *Rendezvous* for to meet the Sloop.

BOUND TO THE NORTHWARD

30. This day unmoor'd and left Columbia's Cove, bound to the Northward, having left a Board *nail'd* to a tree, just back of the watering place, with the following *inscription* "Ship Columbia, arriv'd May 28th Sailed May 30th. BEWARE," that in case Capt. Haswell shou'd arrive before us, he might be on his guard.

June 1. N. Latt. 50° 7'; W. Long. 128° 30'; Amp'd 21° 20' E. Head wind at NW. and squally weather. Ships Crew all well and hearty.

¹⁴¹ On 3rd June, 1792, some of these Indians arrived at Nootka asking from Quadra assistance against a vessel which, said they, had attacked their village, killing seven, wounding others, and despoiling the rest of their sea otter skins. They brought with them a wounded Indian to be treated by the Spanish doctor. The natives claimed that the Americans, being unable to agree upon the price of the furs, had used force to compel them to surrender their peltries. The account in the *Viaje*, page 24, proceeds as follows: "Segun se pado comprehender el buque era la Fragata Americana la Columbia, su Capitan Gray, a quien indicaban los Indios con la senal de que era tuerto: circunstancia que sabiamos recaia en dicho Capitan." In connection with the Indian account the entry of May 25 *ante* may be consulted; it will be observed that Boit believed "they was fearful we should rob their village."

4. N. Latt. $51^{\circ} 0'$; W. Long. $129^{\circ} 1'$. Some Canoes full of Indians came off from the Shore, abreast the Ship, and many valuable skins was *purchas'd*. Iron seem'd most in demand. These fellows soon grew saucy, and threw a number of *stones*, at our people, but as we did not wish, (if possible) to avoid it, for to shoot the poor mistaken savages, we bore off to the Northward, keeping in sounding from 30 to 20 fm., 2 miles off shore.

PINTARD'S STRAITS¹⁴²

5. N. Latt. $51^{\circ} 30'$; W. Long. $129^{\circ} 30'$; Azi. $20^{\circ} 30'$ E. This day saw a large entrance in the land, between two points, above 4 leagues wide.¹⁴³ We haul'd in for the same and when between the points had no bottom with 30 fm. We directed our [course?] about E $\frac{1}{2}$ S and cou'd not see the Land to the East. The Ship went in exceeding fast with a strong tide in favour. Water was quite salt, which prov'd it not to be a River. Observ'd many high Rocks and small Isles, scatter'd about in this famous Straits. Kept the Lead going but got no bottom with 30 fm. line, and saw no signs of Indians. Towards dark stretch'd close in to the South Shore for anchorage, but found none. Kept working under short sail all night, making short boards. No ground in any direction with 120 fm. line.

6. Azi. $20^{\circ} 30'$ E. Bore away up sound, in pursuit of anchorage and Natives. At length, after advancing 15 leagues up sound, we came to, within stone's throw of the beach, in 20 fm. water, sandy bottom, upon the South shore.

7. I went on shore abreast the Ship, with two *boats* after wood, took the Carpenter with me for to cut a Mizen topmast. We had not been long at work, in the Woods before above 200 *Indians*, of a sudden rush'd out upon us. The carpenter

¹⁴² Pintards Sound was the name given by the Americans to the waterway now called Queen Charlotte Sound, in honour of J. M. Pintard of Boston, one of the owners of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*. The first mention of the name, so far as can be at present ascertained, is in Haswell's first Log in May, 1789, on the first voyage made by the Americans (that of the *Washington*) to the northward. "I am of opinion," says Haswell, "there must be some inland communication by lakes or perhaps the sea may continue by large arms and have communication in the interior part perhaps by way of Pintard Sound."

¹⁴³ At its entrance this sound is twenty miles wide, though in its extent its average width is from ten to fifteen miles. It is very deep. There are only two places, Beaver Harbour and Port Alexander, where a vessel of any size can find good anchorage. The sound is only fifty miles long; the distances given in this part are much exaggerated.

being some way from the rest of the party, got nearly surrounded, and was obliged to fly, leaving his Broad Axe behind. I immediately rallied my people together, and retreated slowly, at the same time fir'd a few *Musketts* over their heads which kept them in check. At length they advanced so near as to throw their Spears. We then discharg'd our *Musketts* and killd several. However they still persisted, and I believe if we had not got to the beach (clear from the woods) that we shou'd have been overpower'd. They heard the reports of the *Musketts* on board, but never dreamt that we [were] attack'd by Indians, as none had been seen before. Immediately as we made our appearance the Ship cover'd us with the Cannon and the Grape and round shot, must have done considerable damage to our pursuers, as they fell just into the brink of the wood, where the thickest of the Indians was. This soon dispers'd them, and we got all safe on board. Some of these fellows afterwards came down abreast the Ship and brandished their Weapons at us, bidding defiance.

8. N. Latt. $51^{\circ} 30'$; W. Long. $129^{\circ} 30'$; or *thereabouts*. Got under way bound farther up the Straits and towards evening luff'd into a small bend of the land, and came to in 17 fathom close to the shore.¹⁴⁴ A few canoes, with Indians came off, who talk'd the Nootka language. They inform'd that in two days, through the *woods*, they cou'd reach Nootka Sound and indeed, the Ship was at Anchor near to a Mountain, which is plainly in view at Friendly Cove, (Nootka Sound).

9. Many canoes of this day, and plenty of fine Otter Skins was purchas'd. About Noon, 20 large War Canoes hove in sight, with above 30 Men in each, and we soon discern'd with our Glasses that they was all arm'd, with Spears and *Arrows*. The friendly Indians that was trading along side, told us these people had come to fight, and belong'd to the tribe we had fir'd at two days before, when attack'd upon the beach. Capt. Gray thought it not safe to admit them along side at once, and therefore order'd them, when within hail, for to keep off, and

¹⁴⁴ This may be Beaver Harbour, though it is strange that he does not mention the islands that protect it. From this vicinity there is an Indian trail some eight miles in length which leads to Quatsino Sound, which may have been mistaken for a trail to Nootka Sound. As the crow flies the distance to Nootka Sound is about eighty miles. The mountain referred to is, likely, Mount Karmutzen; but this is not visible from Nootka.

not but one canoe come along side at a time. They obey'd the command, and one canoe, with 42 men came alongside, but had only a skin or two. We soon discover'd that the main body of canoes was paddling towards us, singing a War Song. We fir'd a cannon and some Muskets over their heads. At this they mov'd off about 100 yds. and again halted. A Small Canoe, with a Chief, (paddled by two Indians) kept constantly plying between the Ship and the main body of the Canoes, counting our men, and talking earnestly to the *Natives* along side, encouraging them to begin the attack. He was suffer'd to proceed in this manner some time, when Capt. Gray told him to come near the Ship no more, but he still persisted, and was shot dead for his temerity. Also the Chief Warrior, of the Canoe along side, was shot, for throwing his Spear into the Ship. They then made a precipitate retreat, and the trading Indians, who had kept at a small distance viewing the transactions, again recommenced their trade with us. They inform'd us these Indians, who meant to attack us, was of another tribe with them. Canoes with Indians, came along side and traded away their Otter Skins, but not without Manifest signs of fear.

12. The Natives kept bringing furs, which we purchas'd for Copper and Cloth. *Iron* very dull sale.

FROM PINTARD'S STRAITS TO COLUMBIA'S COVE

13. Weigh'd and came to sail, standing down straits saw a number of fishing canoes, at a distance but none came near. Towards evening came to in 16 fm. at our former *anchorage*. See no Indians.

14. Fair wind and pleasant, weigh'd and stood down straits, and at 9 in the evening got clear out bound to Columbia's Cove, our place of Rendezvous. Shou'd these straits join with Juan da Fuca, which perhaps it does, it must make the whole Coast between the Latitudes of $48^{\circ} 15'$ and $51^{\circ} 30'$ North and Longitudes $120^{\circ} 57'$ and $129^{\circ} 30'$ W. a vast Archipelago of Islands.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ This idea is not original with Boit. It was in the air at that time. In Meares' Voyages, 4to. ed., prefixed to his account of his voyages in 1788 and 1789, is a map in which is shown the celebrated, and now proved to have been imaginary, track of the *Washington*, entering at the Strait of Juan de Fuca and emerging at Queen Charlotte Islands. The curious will find further imaginary details of this voyage in the correspondence of Meares annexed to the Report of the Archivist for British Columbia, 1914, and also in Newcombe's First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island. The quotation from Haswell's first Log set out in note 142 *ante* shows the same opinion. Ingraham also entertained it.

We named the port we had entred *Pintards*, after one of the owners, and I've no doubt we are the first *discoverers*.¹⁴⁶ It is certainly the most dangerous navigation we have experienced being full of Ledges, small Isles, no soundings and excessive strong tides. But I think it affords the most Sea Otter skins. We procured upwards of 300 hundred, during our stay, and saild up this straits more than 100 miles, and cou'd see no end.¹⁴⁷ At our last anchorage, or rather the highest up the shore seem'd to trend about ESE.

15. N. Latt. $51^{\circ} 17'$; Amp'd $21^{\circ} 14'$ E. Head wind beating to and fro, making slow progress. The entrance of Pintards straits bore East, 3 or 4 leagues, 70 fm. water.

17. N. Latt. $50^{\circ} 6'$; W. Long. $128^{\circ} 12'$ O C. Fresh breezes. This day spoke the Sloop *Adventure*, Capt. Haswell, sent our boat and Capt. Haswell came on board the Ship. Bore off the Cove. 'T is remarkable that we both meet within 12 league of our Rendezvous bound in. The chief of the Sloop's Cruize had been about the Charlotte Isles, and had collected about 500 *Skins*, all prime.¹⁴⁸ On the 24th of April Capt. Haswell fell in with the Ship *Margaret* of Boston,¹⁴⁹ James Magee Master. They was on the same business as ourselves. At 5 P. M. past Woody point, and at 7 anchored in company with the Sloop, in Columbia's Cove.¹⁵⁰ A few Natives ventured

¹⁴⁶ Queen Charlotte Sound was discovered in 1786 by the *Experiment*, then in command of Wedgborough (Vancouver's Voyage, vol. 2, p. 308, 8vo. ed. 1801); though there may be doubt as to the exact person then actually in command. James Hanna in the snow *Sea Otter* was also in this sound in the summer of 1786. Duncan, in August, 1788, spent some time at its western entrance. Funter, in the *North West America*, was there in 1789; see his map of Raft Cove in Meares Voyages, 4to., p. 326, which appears to be the present Goletas Channel and Shushartie Bay.

¹⁴⁷ This is an exaggeration; the Sound is only fifty miles long. Boit's statement that the shore at the end of their examination trended ESE would indicate that they were following the Vancouver Island shore, and at this point were looking down Johnstone Strait.

¹⁴⁸ Under date 18th June, Haswell records that he "delivered to Capt. Gray 238 sea otter skins 142 Tails 23 Cootsacks and 19 pieces." The tails were frequently sold separate from the rest of the skin. The fur thereon was the richest. The cootsacks, or cutsarks, were Indian sea otter cloaks, usually composed of three skins.

¹⁴⁹ The *Adventure*, under Haswell, met this ship at Barrell Sound (Houston Stewart Channel) on 7th May. Haswell says she was "as fine a vessel as ever I saw of her size, and appeared exceedingly well fitted for his voyage, and I believe there was no expense spared." She had been in Houston Stewart Channel ten days and had collected but very few skins. She brought letters for the *Columbia*, and Haswell returned the compliment by taking letters from her to be forwarded to Boston by the first opportunity.

¹⁵⁰ This entry shows that Columbia's Cove was very close to Woody Point (Cape Cook). In rounding that point, owing to the rocks which extend from it, the ship would probably give it a berth of at least two miles; and within two hours she is at anchor.

along side, after much coaxing. (Found the Inscription at the watering place unmolested.) Took the Skins from *Sloop* on board ship. Sent parties on shore, well arm'd after wood and water. Purchas'd some furs.

20. Haul'd the *Sloop* on shore, and grav'd her. Capt. Haswell says she is an excellent sea boat, and sails very well.¹⁵¹ The Indians among whom we traded never offer'd insult.

21. Got the *Sloop* off the *ways*, and fitted her for another Cruise.

24. Weigh'd and sail'd from the Cove, in company with the *Adventure*, bound to Queen Charlotte Isles.

25. N. Latt. 50° 37'; W. Long. 129° 55'. Fair wind and moderate breezes. *Sloop* in company. The coast about 8 leagues distance.

28. N. Latt. 52° 18'; W. Long. 129° 15'. Fresh winds, all sail out running along shore, about 3 leagues distance, with smooth sea. *Sloop* about 2 miles a head. At 2 P. M. the Ship struck a Rock,¹⁵² which lay about 7 feet under water and did not break, hove all aback, and she came off clear, try'd the pump, and found she leak'd 1000 smart strokes per Hour, sounded along the Rock, and found no ground at 70 fm. Hoisted a signal for the *Sloop*, and she immediately haul'd her wind for us. Stood off, both pumps just keeps the leak under. In the morning bore off to the Northward.

¹⁵¹ Hoskins, writing to Barrell on 28th September, 1792, makes a different statement. He says, "she sails very dull"; but Haswell states twice in his second Log that she outsailed the *Columbia*.

¹⁵² Vancouver (Voyage, vol. 4, p. 287, 8vo. ed. 1801) says that Captain Gray in the *Columbia* struck and received some material damage upon a sunken rock, which he represented as lying much further than a league from Cape St. James in an almost southeast direction. But the latitude and longitude given by both Haswell and Boit place it very much further east. Haswell, indeed, says it was abreast of the south entrance of Loblip Sound, which has been identified as Milbank Sound. There the coast is broken into low craggy islands and detached sunken rocks. "I was surprised to find Capt. Gray," says Haswell, "standing in for the land in a place that looked to me very dangerous. However, as he had ordered me to lead off, I did not follow him. He had all sail on his ship, steering sails below and aloft. I had seen as I passed several sunken reefs of rocks, and as the *Columbia* passed not looking out properly, she struck. I immediately made sail to windward, hoisted my boat out and set off for the ship. She fired a gun, but soon swung clear of the rocks and hoisting her colors stood towards me. The ship had been going at the rate of 5 knots when she struck. She appeared to have met with no material damage compared with what might have been expected."

In a letter to Barrell dated from Nootka 21st August, 1792, young Hoskins unburdens himself in regard to many matters on the vessel; after complaining of the risk run by Captain Gray in crossing the Columbia River bar, he proceeds: "At last, however, fortune refus'd any longer to smile and in blundering along (for I can call it by no better name) without any lookout kept, within three miles of a most inhospitable & rocky shore, the Ship going six knots with a crowd of sail, struck on a rock about four feet under water (this was the 25th of June), the *Sloop* in company. Mr. Haswell says he in the *Sloop* saw the rock break & haul'd from it (the Ship was to follow him)."

29. N. Latt. $53^{\circ} 1'$; W. Long. $131^{\circ} 41'$. Came on a hard gale of wind, and although we kept firing Cannon through the night the Sloop parted from us, as 't was very thick in the morning. The leaks rather increas'd, and our feelings was not the most agreeable on the occasion.¹⁵³

OFF QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLES (SOUTH PART)

30. N. Latt. $51^{\circ} 57'$; W. Long. $131^{\circ} 10'$. This day see the Queen Charlotte Isles, stood in pretty close to the South pt. and fother'd the Ship with a topsail which we had previously prepared for that purpose. This, fortunately for us, stop'd the leak one half.

July 1. N. Latt. $51^{\circ} 48'$. Close in off the South pt. of Queen Charlotte Isles from which lay many detach'd Rocks. We pass'd the pt. within two or three miles and left many breakers without us in the Offing. We wish to get into Barrells sound.

2. N. Latt. $51^{\circ} 49'$; W. Long. $130^{\circ} 30'$. Saw the entrance of Barrells sound, bearing NW., the wind direct in our teeth. Employ'd turning to windwards, with all the Elements against us. Crew all in brave health.

3. Employ'd beating to windward through the night, in the morning spoke the Ship *Margaret*, James Magee, Master. Capt. Gray went on board the *Margaret*, and found Capt. Magee very sick.¹⁵⁴ This ship stopt a few days at the Cape De Verds, and made her passage in 6 months. They had not

¹⁵³ Evidently the gale was from the northwest, as it drove the ship about sixty miles southward and about thirty eastward. Haswell was informed at two o'clock in the morning by the officer of the watch that the ship had suddenly disappeared and he feared she had foundered. He immediately sailed the *Adventure* back to the spot where the *Columbia* had last been seen; but he searched for her in vain. Haswell loitered in the vicinity for another twenty-four hours, but seeing nothing of the missing ship, concluded that she had surely foundered. On 21st August, while at Cox Strait (Parry Passage), he learned from Ingraham, who had just arrived in the *Hope*, that the *Columbia* was repairing at Nootka. Hoskins, in a private and fault-finding letter to Barrell, gives an account showing that it originated in a bit of pique. Previous to the accident, he says, Haswell, in the *Adventure*, had been instructed, as he was leading, to tack at twelve o'clock. The two vessels got into a race as to which could go longest and fastest by the wind. Haswell, nevertheless, tacked at midnight, but the *Columbia's* men, irritated that the sloop should tack before the ship, continued on their course without tacking until one o'clock. Of course, in that hour the vessels drew steadily apart; ultimately the *Columbia* was no longer seen; then arose the hue and cry that the ship had foundered.

¹⁵⁴ The *Margaret* was owned by the same people as the *Hope*. Ingraham met her about a month later near Nootka Sound, when Mr. Lamb, the chief officer, came aboard to report to him that Captain Magee was very ill. Later Ingraham states that Captain Magee was so ill that it was agreed that he should return to China in the *Hope* as a passenger.

been very fortunate in trade. Bore away to the Southward, in company with Capt. Magee, bound to Columbia's Cove, for the purpose of examining the *Columbia's* bottom. Fair wind at NW.

AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S COVE

5. N. Latt. $50^{\circ} 6'$; W. Long. $128^{\circ} 0'$ This day came to in Columbia's Cove in company with the *Margaret*. Several canoes came along side, and the Natives appear'd quite chearfull.

6. Hoisted all our Cannon, in the longboats of both Ships, made a raft of our spare spars on which we put everything possible that wou'd not damage. Struck yards and topmasts. So ends.

7. Took up the Anchor, and hauld the Ship on shore, on a fine beach, at high tide. When the tide ebb'd, 't was discover'd that the Ship's keel was split, and the lower part of the Stem was entirely gone, within 2 inches of the Wood ends, a great deal of Sheathing was off, and three of the plank next to Garboard Streak was stove on the larboard side. The Carpenters went to work and put in new pieces of plank but it was found impracticable to pretend to repair the bows without heaving down, or some such method, and this cou'd not be done in our present situation. Nootka Sound, where we knew there was a Spanish settlement, Capt. Gray tho't the most proper place, and we all concur'd in the opinion¹⁵⁵.

8. Hauld the Ship off, and soon got ready to leave the Cove.

BOUND TO NOOTKA SOUND

10. N. Latt. $50^{\circ} 6'$; W. Long. $128^{\circ} 0'$ This day weigh'd, and again left the Cove, in company with the *Margaret*,^{155½} standing towards *Nootka*, but overshot it in the Night, which is a misfortune.

11. N. Latt. $49^{\circ} 9'$; W. Long. $125^{\circ} 26'$. Abreast Cliaquot

¹⁵⁵ Hoskins' letter to Barrell, dated from "St. Lorenzo, Nootka Sound, Aug. 21, 1792," shows that the owners' orders very positively forbade the ship's entering a Spanish port except in case of distress.

^{155½} Ingraham states that this vessel carried a Mr. Howell, who was charged with the duty of writing an account of the voyage. So far as is known this record is not extant at the present time.

harbour, and as it's in vain to beat to Nootka with a strong breeze a head, we bore up, and towards evening, in company with the *Margaret*, anchor'd in Clioquot harbor.¹⁵⁶ The Natives were at first shy, but we prevail'd on some of them to come on board.

12. Capt. Gray, having met with *Wickananish* on board the *Margaret*, prevail'd on him to visit the *Columbia*, but he did not appear happy. However 't was the means of getting more *Skins*, than we otherwise would have done. Employ'd wooding and watering (abreast the Ship) and under cover of her Guns.

15. This day arriv'd in the Harbour the English Brig *Venus*,¹⁵⁷ Henry Sheppard Master, 6 months from Bengall in *India*. I went off to him in the offing, and piloted his Brig to the harbour. He inform'd us that at a small harbour in De Fuca straits, where he was at anchor a few days since, there was a Spanish settlement, where lay a Spanish 64, the master of which while amusing himself in shooting back in the woods, was kill'd by the Indians, in consequence of which the Spaniards seized a Canoe full of Natives and massacred them all (in *cold blood*) not even sparing Children. Shocking to relate!¹⁵⁸

17. Weigh'd with a fair wind, and left Clioquot bound to Nootka sound, to repair the Ship, under the protection of the Spaniards. Left the Ship and Brig behind. The wind soon came a head, and we began turning to windward, without making much progress. However we shall reach it by perseverance.

19. N. Latt. 49° 0'; W. Long. 125° 0' Bad weather and the wind direct ahead. This day stood in and anchor'd in Clioquot harbour. Found the Ship made a poor hand beat-

¹⁵⁶ The Port Cox already frequently mentioned in these notes. From this anchorage Gray could see all that remained of the destroyed village of Opitsitah, which was only four miles distant.

¹⁵⁷ A brig of one hundred and ten tons commanded by a Captain Shepherd. Finding the price of furs too high on the sea coast, she sailed from Nootka to try the trade in Queen Charlotte Sound, and, much to Vancouver's surprise, was met by him near Calvert Island on 17th August, 1792. Vancouver's Voyage, vol. 2, pp. 319-320, 8vo. ed. 1801.

¹⁵⁸ The atrocities were not always on the Indians' side. Ingraham gives much the same account; he says the Spaniards killed eight of the natives on this occasion. See New Vancouver Journal in Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. VI, p. 57.

ing to windward, without a Stem. Found the Brig *Venus* here, but Capt. Magee had sail'd.¹⁵⁹ No canoes off.

20. Wind favorable, weather more settled. Weigh'd at Daylight, in company with the *Venus*, and stood to sea. Wind soon haul'd in its old quarter. Employ'd beating to windward towards Nootka Sound.

21. N. Latt. $49^{\circ} 17'$; W. Long. $126^{\circ} 0'$ Wind still at WNW. and fair weather. Saw Breakers point¹⁶⁰ NW. 4 leagues, making short hanks.

22. Weather'd away Breakers point and stood towards Nootka Sound. Observ'd the Spanish Colours flying at the Entrance of Friendly Cove, but the tide swept us so strong towards some breakers on the East shore, and the wind being light oblidg'd us to Anchor in 16 fm. rocky bottom. Hoisted our Ensign in a Wiff and fired a Gun for assistance which was answered by the *Spaniards*. Soon after see several Boats rowing towards us. Quite calm.

23. The Boats got alongside. They was sent by the Spanish Admirall to our assistance (except one, from an English *Store Ship*,¹⁶¹ under charge of Mr. *Neal*, the 1st Officer) . This *Ship* was sent out by the British Government, with Stores for Capt. *Vancouver*, who had not yet arriv'd at the Sound. The Spanish boats was under the charge of a Pilot, who had order to Get the Ship to the Cove, and lend every assistance.

AT ANCHOR IN NOOTKA SOUND

24. N. Latt. $49^{\circ} 30'$; W. Long. $126^{\circ} 0'$ Light breeze from the South'd and East'd. Weigh'd and came to sail, under conduct of the Spanish Pilot, who well knew his business, and was perfectly acquainted with the soundings and tides. Upon passing the Spanish fort,¹⁶² at the Entrance of the Cove, we

¹⁵⁹ For Nootka, as appears later.

¹⁶⁰ See note 13 *ante*. Crespi's diary of the expedition of 1774 says "it was called Point San Estevan, out of regard for the second navigating officer." See this diary in the Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California, 1891, vol. 2, part I, p. 202. The officer so honoured was Don Estevan Jose Martinez, who, in 1789, established the first Spanish settlement at Nootka and in the same year seized Meares' vessels.

¹⁶¹ The *Daedalus* of Vancouver's squadron, commanded by Captain New, whom Ingraham describes as "a very clever old gentleman."

¹⁶² On Hog Island; but not that which had been erected by Martinez in 1789. That fort had been dismantled when the settlement returned to Mexico in the fall of 1789. This was a new one erected on the same site by Elisa in 1790. It is described in the entry of the following day as a poor affair, barely sufficient to carry the weight of the guns.

saluted with 7 Guns, which was return'd. Towards evening came to, in Friendly Cove (Nootka Sound). Found riding here the Store Ship, a Spanish Sloop of War, and the Brig *Venus*. The Spaniards treated us nobly, and offer'd freely every assistance in their power. We lay in this place till the 23d August. Shall give the *Minutes* of our transactions during that period.

25. N. Latt. 49° 30'; W. Long. 126° 30' Discharg'd the Ship's Cargo and stores, and stored them in a house on shore which the Spaniards had lent us for that purpose.¹⁶³ Strip'd the Ship to a Gutline, and got the riging all on shore to repair. The Spanish governor seem'd highly pleas'd with the dispatch that took place; indeed ev'ry man in the *Columbia* was anxious to get the Ship in readiness to pursue her Voyage, well knowing that the time drew nigh when we shou'd again be sailing towards our friends in America, and our sweet anticipation of the joys that await us there made us use ev'ry effort. This Spanish settlement at *Nootka*, contained about 50 Houses,¹⁶⁴ indifferently built (*except* the Governor's, which was rather *grand* than otherways). There was about 200 Inhabitants, consisting of Spaniards and Peru Indians, but no females. Their fort was no great thing, mounted with 6 twenty four and thirty six pounders—the platforms would not bear the weight of metal. There was two Botanists resided with the Governour.¹⁶⁵ Capt. Gray took up his lodgings at the *governor's* request, at his house.

¹⁶³ Hoskins in his letter, referred to in note 155 *ante*, writes: "We arrived the 23rd of July, and reported our situation to the Spanish Governor, who very politely offer'd us every assistance. He has lent us store houses for our Goods, granted the second best house in his small Town for Capt. Gray and myself to lodge & do our business in; and insists on our eating & drinking with him, at his house, where we live most sumptuously."

¹⁶⁴ This seems an exaggeration. Ingraham says "the village consists of 16 houses." This corresponds reasonably closely with the pictures still extant; furthermore it agrees fairly well with the diagram of that most interesting village which is appended to Elisa's map of the Strait of Fuca. A copy of this map will be found, numbered K, in the Berlin Arbitration Papers, Washington 1872.

¹⁶⁵ This is the only reference to the presence of botanists in this unique settlement. Much research is still necessary before any adequate conception of the Spanish village at Nootka Sound can be obtained, or any knowledge gathered of the incidents in its short existence (1790-1795). In the *New Vancouver Journal* (Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. 5, p. 306) it is noted that the *Aransasu* on her return to Nootka in September, 1792, "had a Botanist on board her."

29. Don. Van Francisco De La Vondego,¹⁶⁶ which was the name of the Governor, gave a grand entertainment, at his house, at which all the Officers of the Fleet partook. Fifty four persons sat down to Dinner, and the plates, which was *solid silver* was shifted five times, which made 270 Plates. The Dishes, Knifes and forks, and indeed every thing else was of Silver,¹⁶⁷ and always replaced with spare ones. There could be no mistake in this as they never carried the dirty plates or Dishes from the Hall where we dined (as *I thought*, on purpose to let us see the quantity of plate used by Spaniards in South America.)

31. This day got all ready to heave down, by the Spanish Sloop of War, the Governor having granted us his permission.

August 1. Haul'd along side the Spanish Ship,¹⁶⁸ fix'd our purchases to her, and soon had the *Columbia* keel out. But was oblig'd to right her again, as she made too much water, her upper works being quite weak. Capt. Gray determin'd to give over the Idea of heaving her out, and accordingly gave orders to prepare to lay her ashore on *blocks*.

2. N. Latt. 49° 30'; W. Long. 126° 30' This day haul'd the Ship upon the beach at high water, and placed a long round log *along* her keel fore and aft, endeavouring to trip her over it, but the Bottom being so *flat*, she wou'd turn keel out. Other logs was laid, and moor'd with *Cannon* on the Beach, with an intention of laying the Ship's *Fore foot* on them, which we accordingly did at high water, the logs laying as far aft as the fore *Chains*. This method answered our most sanguine *expectations*. At low water, or half ebb, the ship's bows lay'd four feet above the beach. In this situation we scuttled her

¹⁶⁶ Don Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra; one of the most interesting figures in the Spanish regime on this coast; his entrance into our history is gripping; no reader can forget his courageous voyage in the little *Santiago* in 1775. He was a fit representative of the courtly Spaniard; and while he was commandante at Nootka all visitors, of every nationality and of every kind of vessel, unite in bearing testimony to his constant courtesy and his unfailing kindness.

¹⁶⁷ Ingraham records that when he dined with the Governor, Quadra, a few days later, he had an excellent dinner and everything was served on silver. He adds that it was Quadra's custom to invite to dinner all commanders of vessels regardless of rank or nationality. Even when Vancouver and Quadra visited Maquinna at Tashees, the Spaniard took care to have the dinner served on plate. Vancouver's Voyage, vol. 2, p. 354, 8vo. ed. 1801; Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. 5, p. 304.

¹⁶⁸ Of necessity this must be the *Acteva*; for the *Aransasu* was then engaged on the survey of Queen Charlotte Islands, under Camaano; while the *Princesa* lay at anchor guarding Fidalgo and his men at Neah Bay.

Aft, so as to keep her steady in her berth, at high water. In three days, by the assistance of the Spanish and English Carpenters, a New Stem and part of the Cutwater was put to the Ship. Stopt the Scuttle, grav'd the Ship, and haul'd off to our Moorings.

8. The Spaniards view'd us, with astonishment, and the Governor observ'd that he believed we cou'd build a ship in a month.

9. The Brig *Hope*, Joseph Ingrahim, arriv'd here, on the 1st from Canton,¹⁶⁹ and sail'd this day on a *Cruise*.

10. On the 10th arrived here the ship *Buttersworth*,¹⁷⁰ from London, Wm. Brown Commander; Ship *Margaret*, James Magee, and Brig *Hope*, Joseph Ingrahim.

11. And on the 11th arriv'd the Sloop *Prince La Boo*,¹⁷¹ Capt. Gordon from London. These vessells were all in the fur trade. The *Laboo* was a tender to the *Buttersworth*.

16. The Ship *Margaret*¹⁷² put to sea, under charge of Mr. Lamb, 1st Officer Capt. Magee residing with the Spanish governor for the benefit of his health.

22. This Day the *Columbia* was ready for sea, and in fine order. Have painted her complete.

23. Arriv'd the English brig *Three B's*,¹⁷³ Lieutenant Alder,

¹⁶⁹ The *Hope* left Macao on 1st April, 1792, and arrived at Cox Strait (Parry Passage), Queen Charlotte Islands, on 2nd July. She had spent the interval in cruising and trading around those islands.

¹⁷⁰ The ship *Buttersworth* had been a French frigate of thirty guns. She was on the coast in 1792-3 as the "mother ship" under Captain William Brown, having as tenders the *Prince Lee Boo* and the *Jackal*. At Clayoquot a few days before this arrival at Nootka, she had an encounter with the natives, in which one seaman was killed and two severely wounded. Captain Brown represented it as an unprovoked attack upon his boats; but Ingraham learned from the *Margaret* a totally different version in which the seamen were said to have robbed and attempted to rob the Indians of their furs and in the resultant struggle and retaliation the losses occurred; see Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xi, p. 26. This expedition was quite unsuccessful in obtaining furs during the season of 1792. Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. vi, p. 58. At the end of the following season the *Buttersworth* was dispatched to England with instructions to engage in whaling and sealing in the South Seas and at Staten Land, where her commander had formed a temporary establishment. Vancouver's Voyage, vol. v, p. 354, 8vo, ed. 1801.

¹⁷¹ The small sloop *Prince Lee Boo*, named after a young Chief who had been taken to England by Captain Wilson. This vessel was on the coast in 1792, 1793 and 1794, as one of the vessels of the *Buttersworth* squadron. At the end of the season of 1793, she, in company with the *Jackal*, sailed to China, returning again in June, 1794. See Vancouver's Voyage, vol. v, pp. 354-5, 8vo, ed. 1801.

¹⁷² According to the New Vancouver Journal, Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. v, p. 224, Captain Magee was utilizing his sick leave in selling intoxicating liquor.

¹⁷³ The full name was *Three Brothers*, though the *Viaje* refers to her as "El Bergantin Ingles Tresbes." This vessel was one of the few British ships that utterly ignored the monopoly of the South Sea Company. Soon after her arrival, following Meares' and the Americans' custom, she set up the frame of a small sloop at Nootka. For further information, see Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. 5, p. 301; vol. 6, p. 59 and p. 85.

Commander, from London, on a trading Voyage.

BOUND TO CHARLOTTE ISLES

24. Weigh'd and came to sail, bound for Queen Charlotte Isles, Barrells sound, those Isles being the appointed rendezvous, for to meet the *Adventure*, Capt. Haswell. It is but doing Justice to the Spaniards at Nootka sound to observe that during our tarry among them we was treated with the greatest hospitality, and in fact they seem'd to exert themselves, and to feel interested in our behalf. May such fine fellows Never be in want of the like assistance shou'd they ever stand in need of it from the hands of any American. The Governor wou'd Not allow Capt. Gray for to pay one farthing.

25. N. Latt. $49^{\circ} 30'$; W. Long. $126^{\circ} 30'$. Nootka sound is as remarkable a place to know from seaward as any I know of. At most times Iatheo peak¹⁷⁴ (a mountain) in the form of a sugar loaf can be seen, and there is none other that at all resembles it, on this part of the Coast. A long low point, with high Breakers off it, makes the SE. part of the Bay.¹⁷⁵ The Western entrance of the sound runs down to a low point, with a small round Hill just back of Friendly cove.

28. N. Latt. $51^{\circ} 45'$; W. Long. $130^{\circ} 30'$. This day made the SE. part of the group of Charlotte Isles. A thick fog¹⁷⁶ came on, so that we cou'd not reach the sound. Employ'd beating off and on, waiting for fair weather.

30. This day the weather clear'd and the Sloop *Adventure* hove in sight standing for Barcl. [Barrells?] sound. This is the second time we have met off the place of *Rendezvous*. Saluted each other with 7 Guns. Found Capt. Haswell and Crew all well, and had made a successful cruize. We stood

¹⁷⁴ Conuma peak, a remarkable steeple-shaped mountain, 4,889 feet high, twenty miles from the entrance. It is a most conspicuous feature.

¹⁷⁵ Escalante point, low and rocky, marks the eastern entrance of Nootka Sound. The name is by association with Escalante reef. It signifies in Spanish, climbing, or scaling.

¹⁷⁶ All navigators, from the time of Juan Perez in 1774, complain of the thick fogs of Queen Charlotte Islands.

into Port Montgomery,¹⁷⁷ a small harbour to the North'd of Barrells Sound, which the *Adventure* had *visited* before, and her Captain named it after our famous American General who fell before Quebec while gloriously fighting in the defence of our liberties. *Graved* the Sloop in this place, and otherways put her in fine order, to attract the eyes of the *Spaniards* at Nootka, as Capt. Gray meant to sell her to *them* if possible. Cut some spare spars at this place, and wooded and watered the Ship for her passage to Canton. Many Natives visited us, and brought plenty of fish but few furs. Took out the *Skins* from the Sloop¹⁷⁸ and stow'd them away on board the Ship.

BOUND TO NOOTKA SOUND

September 13. Weigh'd and stood to sea, in company with the *Adventure*, bound to Nootka sound.

21. N. Latt. 49° 30'; W. Long. 126° 30'. Abreast the Entrance of the Sound. A Spanish Brig in sight to leeward, which hove to and fir'd a Gun. We immediately bore off for her. She was the *Acteva* of 14 Guns, with the Spanish Governor of Nootka¹⁷⁹ on board, bound to *Peru*. He told Capt. Gray that he wou'd wait 10 days at a small *Spanish* settlement, in Juan De Fuca straits, where he was then going, for to leave some orders, previous to his leaving the Coast. He appear'd anxious to have the Sloop, and Haswell was not backward in displaying her to the best advantage. Towards evening we anchor'd in Friendly Cove, having saluted the Spanish Governor with 13 Guns¹⁸⁰ when we parted. Found riding in the Cove His Majesty's Ships *Discovery* and *Chatham*,¹⁸¹ The

¹⁷⁷ Haswell gives its latitude as 52° 25' north; his log shows that he was there twice, once in May and again in August, 1792. No longitude is given (it would be of no assistance, because of its constant inaccuracy), but it is plain from Haswell's log that on both occasions he reached this port from Dixon Entrance along the western coast of Queen Charlotte Islands. It was therefore on the western coast of these islands and north of Houston Stewart Channel. He calls it St. Tammonies Cove, Port Montgomery; from his scattered allusions it seems to have been a cove in a large sound. Though the latitude does not agree, could it by any possibility have been Ingraham's Magee Sound? In making a comparison it must be kept in mind that Ingraham stayed a considerable time in Magee Sound and made a careful examination; Haswell appears to have looked on it merely as a suitable rendezvous.

¹⁷⁸ Haswell's entry, 12th September, 1792, reads: "I delivered to Capt. Gray 75 sea otter skins, 29 cootsacks, 137 tails, and 25 pieces."

¹⁷⁹ Quadra was returning, not to Peru, but to San Blas in Mexico.

¹⁸⁰ The federal salute; see note 95 *ante*.

¹⁸¹ Vancouver's vessels, which had arrived in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, 28th August, 1792, after circumnavigating Vancouver Island.

Dedalus, Store Ship, Capt. [Thomas] New, Ship *Margaret*,¹⁸² of Boston, Capt. Magee, English Brig *Fens*,¹⁸³ Capt. Duffin, English Sloop *Jackhall*,¹⁸⁴ Capt. Steward, and a Spanish Line of Battle Ship of 74 Guns. Spanish Colours still flying at the fort, the Governor having refused to give up the Sound to Capt. Vancouver who was authoriz'd by his Government for to take possession of it. However the Spaniards told *Vancouver* that he might have that particular place where Capt. [John] Mears made his small settlement, and built a Sloop, which was very inconsiderable. Capt. Vancouver insisted upon having the whole or none. However they both agreed to let the business remain (in statu quo), to remain friends, and write home to their respective Courts, on the subject of dispute.

JUAN DE FUCA STRAITS

22. Weigh'd in company with the Sloop, and left Nootka bound to Port Ne-ar¹⁸⁵ in Juan de Fuca straits. Fair wind and pleasant weather.

23. N. Latt. 49° 9'; W. Long. 125° 26' O C. Close in with Cliaquot harbour. In the morning saw two Sail in the NW. At Meridian Tatooch's Isle¹⁸⁶ on the SE. entrance of the Straits bore E½S. 8 or 9 leagues.

24. N. Latt. 48° 30'; W. Latt. [Long.] 123° 45'. Spoke the Spanish Brig *Acteva*, with the Governor on board. They

¹⁸² This ship had just reached Nootka, arriving on 19th September, 1792. Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. vi, p. 54.

¹⁸³ The *Fenis* and *St. Joseph*. Vancouver says she was a Portuguese brig, commanded by John de Barros Andrede, with Mr. Duffin as supercargo, Voyage, vol. 2, p. 367; and see Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. vi, p. 50, to same effect. Perhaps Duffin, who had been with Meares in the *Felice*, may have taken his cue from his former employer. Duffin on this occasion gave Vancouver a written account of the seizures of 1789; the gist of the letter will be found in Vancouver's Voyage, vol. 2, p. 370 *et seq.*, and verbatim in Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. vi, p. 52, *et seq.* She had arrived on 15th September, 1792.

¹⁸⁴ The *Jackal*, of the Butterworth squadron. Vancouver calls her a schooner, but all others speak of her as a sloop. Ingraham had met her near the southern end of Queen Charlotte Islands on 17th July previous, and had at first thought her to be the *Adventure*; but she showed British colours, and on her nearer approach he saw that she had a tier of ports fore and aft, the greatest part of which were "false or only painted, yet they made a good appearance at a distance that for some time we concluded she was a Kings Cutter or tender to some of the men of war on the coast."

¹⁸⁵ Neah Bay.

¹⁸⁶ Tatoosh Island first appears in Duncan's sketch 13th August, 1788. He gives the following information: "Green Island or To Touches is about ¼ mile in length; covered over with green grass; on the West Side is a small Cove very narrow and only navigable for Boats; I saw some Canoes go in and out and many Indians on the Beach; on the East Side is a large village, and from the number of Canoes that come to us from thence, I suppose it to be well inhabited."

was much surpriz'd at our being in the Straits as soon as they was. At dark the Spanish Brig hove to under her tops'ls. We kept plying all night for our Port, and in the Morning got safe to anchor in C'o with the Sloop *Adventure*. Found riding here the Spanish Ship *Princessa* of 64 Guns, and Brig *Hope*, Capt. Ingrahim. This was a small, good harbour,¹⁸⁷ situate about 5 leagues from Cape Flattery, within the straits of De Fuca. The Spaniards had erected a Cross upon the beach, and had about 10 Houses and several good Gardens.¹⁸⁸ Several Natives along side, and a few prime Skins was purchas'd (*with plenty of fine Halibut*). I went with the Pinnace to the Assistance of the *Acteva*, she having been oblig'd to anchor near Cape Flattery, in a dangerous situation. When I came on board, instead of using every effort to get clear of Danger, they was performing Mass. However soon got under way and stood for Port Ne-ar.¹⁸⁹

25. N. Latt. 48° 35'; W. Long. 123° 30'. The *Acteva* anchor'd in company. Saluted the Governor with 13 Guns, which was return'd. Employ'd filling up our Water, and getting ready for our passage across the Pacific Ocean.

26. Spanish Officers from both ships, together with Capt. Ingraham, dined on board the *Columbia*. Fired, on their coming, and going away, two Foederall salutes.

27. Sailed the *Princessa* for Nootka sound.¹⁹⁰ Ships crew are all in prime health. Natives constantly visit us, but they do not like the Spaniards.

¹⁸⁷ Ingraham had a contrary opinion. In his journal under date 28th September, 1792, he writes. "It is 5 points of the compass open to the sea from WNW to NBW so that it is almost as bad as being in the centre of the straights and I much wonder how the *Princessa* road out 7 months in safety in such a place especially as the bottom is very rocky in forming a new settlement I should suppose a good Harbour was the first and most material thing to be sought for."

¹⁸⁸ Ingraham describes it thus: "The settlement consisted only of a few Huts and a tollerable good garden."

¹⁸⁹ Ingraham states that when he and Mr. Hoskins of the *Columbia* visited Quadra the latter was much vexed that the Americans had not sent their boats to his assistance on the preceding evening. Satisfactory explanations were, however, made and, with the assistance of the Americans, the *Acteva* was towed into safe anchorage. He expresses in his journal great sorrow that anything having even the semblance of inattention or neglect to one who had been so kind to them should have happened.

¹⁹⁰ The Spaniards were now, on instructions from Quadra, abandoning Nunez Gaona, as they called the settlement at Neah Bay. It had only been established in the preceding March. Fidalgo, who was its commandante was sailing to Nootka to take over the command at that place, superseding Camaano, who had been left in charge.

28. This day sold the Sloop *Adventure* to the Spanish Governor, for 72 Prime Sea Otter Skins, worth 55 Dollars each in Canton, which is equal to 4960\$, which at 50 per Ct. advance home, is 7440 Spanish Piasters, a good price. He wanted her as a present to the Viceroy of *Mexico*. Before delivery we took out all her provisions and stores, with a New Cable and Anchor.

29. Sailed this day the Brig *Acteva* and Sloop *Adventure*, under Spanish Colours, bound to Acapulco. We saluted on their departure with 9 Guns which was return'd.

30. Weigh'd and sailed from Port Néar, bound across the Straits for a Cove, call'd by us *Poverty*.¹⁹¹ Same evening anchor'd, in 7 fathom. Found this harbour much snuger for our business. The Indians brought a few Skins and plenty of fish and some train oil, which last article we much wanted.

October 1. Employ'd wooding and watering and getting the Ship in order. Cut many spare spars.

3. Weigh'd for the last time on the NW Coast, and left Poverty Cove, bound for Canton in China, via Sandwich Islands. Our feelings on this occasion are easier *felt* than described. Our friends at Home and ev'ry endearing *Idea* rush'd so full upon us, and made us so happy, that 't was impossible, for a while, to get the Ship in readiness for bad weather, and full allowance of Grog being serv'd on the occasion, made our worthy Tars join in the *general* Mirth—and so we go.

N. Latt. $48^{\circ} 25'$; W. Long. $123^{\circ} 30'$. At noon Cape Flattery bore East 7 leagues. Steering SW. Wind NE. Soon lost sight of the Mountains of North America.

9. N. Latt. $44^{\circ} 51'$; W. Long. $128^{\circ} 34'$; Amp'd $14^{\circ} 37'$ E.

11. N. Latt. $43^{\circ} 7'$; W. Long. $129^{\circ} 5'$; Amp'd $13^{\circ} 17'$ E. O C. Pleasant weather. Wind at West. Ship's Crew in health.

16. N. Latt. $34^{\circ} 7'$; W. Long. $138^{\circ} 6'$; Azi. $10^{\circ} 58'$ E. Pleasant gales and fair weather.

17. N. Latt. $32^{\circ} 54'$; W. Long. $138^{\circ} 42'$; Azi. $11^{\circ} 46'$ E. Pleasant gales and fair weather.

¹⁹¹ Port San Juan, on Vancouver Island, just inside the entrance of Juan de Fuca Strait. Captain Walbran, in a manuscript note, gives its true position as latitude $48^{\circ} 22'$ north, longitude $124^{\circ} 30'$ west. The Indian name was Pachénat, but Haswell in his first Log, under date 29th March, 1789, records that Captain Gray, then in the *Washington*, named it Poverty Cove.

21. N. Latt. $28^{\circ} 10'$; W. Long. $142^{\circ} 24'$; Azi. $10^{\circ} 0' E$. Crew all in health, and wind and weather propitious. Took NE. Trade winds this day.

26. N. Latt. $20^{\circ} 15'$; W. Long. $150^{\circ} 39'$; Azi. $6^{\circ} 7'$; Amp'd $6^{\circ} 38' E$. Warm and pleasant, with a smooth sea.

28. N. Latt. $20^{\circ} 5'$; W. Long. $154^{\circ} 52' * \text{C}$. Spoke the Brig *Fens*, Capt. Duffan,¹⁹² bound to Canton. The first lieutenant¹⁹³ of the *Discovery*, Capt. Vancoover, was a passenger on board this Vessell, bound home, with dispatches for Government.

SANDWICH ISLES. PACIFIC OCEAN

29. N. Latt. $20^{\circ} 14'$; W. Long. $154^{\circ} 20'$. Made the Isle of Owhyhee,^{193½} one of the Sandwich Isles, where the famous Circumnavigator, Capt. James Cook was killed by the Natives. Standing towards the Isles, it having been seen at 15 leagues distant.

30. Hove to, for some Canoes, and purchased 11 Hogs from the Natives, and plenty of vegetables, such as Sweet Potatoes, Yams, tarro, etc. These Canoes was very neatly made, but quite narrow. The Outrigger kept them steady, or else, I think, they wou'd too easily upset in the Sea. The Men were fine stately looking fellows, and the Women quite handsome. They were all in a state of Nature, except a small covering round the middle. Not many of the *Columbia's* Crew prov'd to be *Josephs*. Run along very near the Isles, and hove to off Karakakoa Bay. Some double Canoes came alongside. These was suspended apart by large rafters, well supported. The Masts were rig'd between the canoes, and they carried their mat sails a long time, sailing very fast. The Shore was lined with people.

31. N. Latt. $20^{\circ} 14'$; W. Long. $154^{\circ} 50'$. Stood round the Island and haul'd into Toaj yah yah bay,¹⁹⁴ and hove to. Vast many canoes sailing in company with us. The shore made

¹⁹² The ostensible commander was a Portuguese, John de Barros Andrede, Duffin being but supercargo. Further investigation may show that, like Meares' vessels, she was merely masquerading under the Portuguese flag. The passenger referred to was Lieutenant Mudge of the *Discovery*, who was carrying to England an account of the abortive negotiations between Vancouver and Quadra. See Vancouver's Voyage, vol. 2, pp. 377-378, 8vo. ed. 1801.

¹⁹³ Lieutenant Mudge?—W. C. F.

^{193½} Hawaii.—W. C. F.

¹⁹⁴ Kawaihae Bay?—W. C. F.

a delightful appearance, and appeared in the highest state of cultivation. Many canoes along side, containing beautiful *Women*. Plenty of Hogs and fowls, together with most of the Tropical fruits in abundance, great quantities of Water, and Musk, *Mellons*, Sugar Cane, Bread fruit, and salt was brought for sale. The price of a large Hog was from 5 to 10 spikes—smaller ones in proportion. 6 Dunghill fowls for an Iron Chizzle, and fruit cheaper still.

November 1. This day, having on board 93 Hogs and great quantities of Fruits and Vegetables, we bore away from this enchanting Island bound to *Onehow*,¹⁹⁵ after more Yams and to put a Native on shore, which the Captain had taken from that Isle on his former voyage. Pass'd the Isles of Tahousa,¹⁹⁶ Rainai,¹⁹⁷ *Mower*,¹⁹⁸ and Whahow,¹⁹⁹ left them to the North'd of us.

2. N. Latt. 21° 59'; W. Long. 160° 0' Pass'd Atooi, and steer'd for Yam bay in Onehow. In the morning was well into the bay. Vast many canoes off, in one of which was the Father and other relations of our Sandwich Island Lad. They came on board and the meeting was very affectionate, but still our Lad refused to go on shore and Capt. Gray did not think proper to force him. However made his friends many presents. Purchas'd some Hogs here, and great quantities of Cocoa Nuts, with a good lot of Nice line for Rising, etc.

3. Bore off and made all sail for the Coast of China, and soon lost sight of these beautiful Isles, the Inhabitants of which appear'd to me to be the happiest people in the world. Indeed there was something in them so frank and chearful that you cou'd not help feeling prepossess'd in their favour.²⁰⁰

4. N. Latt. 19° 56'; W. Long. 163° 58' Pleasant NE. trade winds, with smooth sea. Crew all in health. Kill'd and salted 17 large Hogs. We followed Capt. Cook's plan,²⁰¹ by

¹⁹⁵ Niihau.—W. C. F.

¹⁹⁶ Kahoolawe.—W. C. F.

¹⁹⁷ Lanai?—W. C. F.

¹⁹⁸ Maui.—W. C. F.

¹⁹⁹ Oahu.—W. C. F.

²⁰⁰ Boit changed his opinion some three years later; see the entries from the log of the *Union*, reproduced in S. E. Morison's *Boston Traders in Hawaiian Islands*, *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. xii, pp. 168-9.

²⁰¹ See its details in *Cook's Third Voyage*, vol. 2, p. 135, 4to, ed. 1785, and vol. 2, p. 135, 8vo, ed. Dublin 1784.

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taking out the Bones, and laying the Meat, (after salting), between two Hatches, with a heavy Weight on them, through the Night and in the morning early, after a good examination, pack'd it away in Barrells, using strong pickle. This method answerd ev'ry purpose.

13. N. Latt. $15^{\circ} 49'$; W. Long. $185^{\circ} 25'$; E. Long. $174^{\circ} 35'$; Amp'd $13^{\circ} 23'$ E. Keep the people employ'd cleaning furs.

24. N. Latt. $15^{\circ} 50'$; W. Long. $212^{\circ} 29'$; E. Long. $147^{\circ} 31'$; Azi. $9^{\circ} 56'$ E. This is pleasant sailing, have not experienced a squall since leaving the Islands, and the sea quite smooth, although a fresh NE. trade. Crew all well.

29. N. Latt. $18^{\circ} 24'$; W. Long. $226^{\circ} 15'$; E. Long. $133^{\circ} 45'$; Azi. and Amp'd $7^{\circ} 12'$ E. Sea grows more rough, and the weather a little squally.

BASHEE ISLES AND COAST OF CHINA. PAFIFIC OCEAN

December 3. N. Latt. $20^{\circ} 30'$; W. Long. $232^{\circ} 28'$; E. Long. $127^{\circ} 32'$ O C. This day, contrary to our expectation, we made the Bashee Isles, at 10 leagues distance to the Westward. Have experienced strong Currents in our favour, since leaving the Sandwich Isles. As we cou'd not weather, with the wind at NE., 't was thought best to run between Grafton and Monmouth Isles, bore off accordingly.

4. Fresh breeze. At 6 P. M. we were between the Islands, doubled pretty near Grafton, and luff'd close under the lea'd of Orange Isle. Saw a number of fires on the shore, but it was too dark to make any observations. When clear of the group hauld close on a wind for the Coast of China.

5. N. Latt. $21^{\circ} 48'$; Correct W. Long. $239^{\circ} 29'$; Correct E. Long. $120^{\circ} 31'$; Azi. and Amp'd $2^{\circ} 41'$ W. 16 O O * C C. C Sights. Saw the Island of Formosa, bearing EBN. at Meridian, 12 leagues. Fair NE. Monsoon.

6. N. Latt. $22^{\circ} 20'$; W. Long. $243^{\circ} 38'$; E. Long. $116^{\circ} 22'$. Saw the Main land of China, bearing NW. 8 leagues, at Meridian above 100 sail of fishing boats in sight. Soundings 23 fathom sand and ouze.

7. N. Latt. $22^{\circ} 7'$; W. Long. $244^{\circ} 57'$; E. Long. $115^{\circ} 3'$.

Pass'd the Island, or rather Rock of Pedro Branca, (or Blanco),^{202-202½} at Daylight. It was of a conical shape and appear'd perfectly white. At Noon, the Grand Lema Island bore WSW., 5 leagues. Hundreds of fishing boats in sight. At 3 P. M. pass'd the *Lema*, leaving it on our larboard hand. At 6 got a Pilot on board, who agreed to carry us to Macao roads, for 25 Dollars. Stood between the Lema Islands all night, with a light breeze.

MACAO ROADS. COAST OF CHINA

8. This morning early anchor'd in Macao roads, 14 fm. muddy bottom. Not liking our situation weigh'd and shifted our berth nigher to Macao, and anchor'd in 4½ fm. Mud. The Fort at Macao bearing S. 8° 8' W. 4 miles, and the outermost of the Nine Isles N. 8° E. Capt. Gray went to *Macao* in the pinnace. A Black fellow came on board and inform'd us that Capt. Kendrick, in the *Lady Washington*, lay in Lark's Bay,²⁰³ and that the Brig had been dismasted in the Chinese seas about two months before, in a *Tuffoon*, being again bound for the NW. Coast. Kendrick was refitting his vessell again.

9. Capt. Gray return'd on board, he inform'd us that Capt. Kendrick saild for the NW. in September last, in company with a small tender he had fitted in Macao. He was out four days when the *Tuffoon* overtook him. The Brig laid on her Beam ends for some time before they cut away the Masts. She then righted, and the gale abating steer'd for Macao. The whole surface of the sea was cover'd with the Wrecks of Chinese *Boats*, and many of the poor fishermen was still hanging to pieces of the Boats. Capt. Kendrick pick'd up above thirty of the poor fellows, and was obliged to pass a great many that he cou'd not assist. He arriv'd in Larks Bay, the 7th day after the Gale.²⁰⁴ A Macao Boat came along side, with

²⁰² Pedra Branca.—W. C. F.

^{202½} The *Columbia* is following the usual route from the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands to China. Meares says: "The land generally made on the coast of China is about Pedro Blanco or White Rock." Meares' Voyages, 4to. ed., p. 57.

²⁰³ Lark's Bay—sometimes called Dirty Butter Bay—a small harbour lying three or four leagues southwest of Macao, the Portuguese settlement near the mouth of the Canton River. The object of lying there was to save the payment of duty on the cargo, as the bay was out of the reach of Chinese authority at that time; see Delano's Voyages, p. 43.

²⁰⁴ It is by such scattered references as this that, by degrees, the intensely interesting story of Kendrick is being pieced together.

two European gentlemen, and purchas'd of us 21 pistale of Iron at 7\$ per pistal.²⁰⁵ A River pilot took charge for 40\$ to take the Ship to Whampoa.²⁰⁶

10. Weigh'd, with the wind at NE. early in the morning making slow progress; in the evening anchor'd below Lintin bar, in 5 fathom. Next morning weigh'd and beat up to the Boca Tigris,^{206½} and anchor'd in 17 fm.

CANTON RIVER, CHINA

12. This day arriv'd to our Moorings at Whampoa, having been obliged to beat the whole way from Macao roads. Found riding here 47 sail of European Ships, and six American Do. Capt. Gray went to Canton, in the pinnace. We lay'd at this place till the 2d of February, during which time we give the Ship a complete overhaul from her keel to the truck. We haul'd the Ship a shore, on Dutch Island beach, and *graved*. This business cost 150\$ (paid to the Proprietors of the beach). The whole expence accruing to the *Columbia* at Canton amounted to the enormous sum of 7000 Spanish \$. The other Furs were landed at Canton, and delivered to the Hong Merchants, for 90,000\$, average 45 Dollars each. The Land furs sold quite low, in proportion.

The Ship was laden with a full Cargo of Teas and Nanken with a small proportion of Sugar and China Porcelain. 'Tis the Custom in this place to engage with a Contractor to supply the Ship with provisions and other stores. They call themselves *Compadores*. You must give them a certain Sum, generally 150\$ before they'll undertake. The first of these fellows that was engag'd run away with 250\$ in our debt. This Money was advanced him previous to our having a Security Merchant; otherways it wou'd have been recover'd. These security Merchants²⁰⁷ ev'ry ship must have before they can transact business,

²⁰⁵ A picul, a common weight in the Orient and of 133 1-3 pounds. See Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xii, p. 170. Capt. Cook called it a pecul, and says it contains one hundred catty and that each catty is eighteen ounces. His pecul would thus be 112½ pounds.

²⁰⁶ Sometimes spelled Wampu and in numerous other forms. It was the port of Canton and was situate on the Canton River on the opposite side from Canton and about ten miles below.

^{206½} Part of the estuary of the Canton River. See an illustration in Meares' Voyages, 4to. ed., p. 11.

²⁰⁷ For remarks upon the method of carrying on this trade and the hampering restrictions imposed on it by the Chinese Government, see Marchand's Voyage, vol. 2, p. 96, *et seq.*, 1801 ed., and also Dixon's Voyage, Letters xliv and xlv.

as the government looks to *them* for the Amount of Duties. Capt. Gray generally staid at Canton and the Officers by *turns*, and ev'ry man on board had two Days liberty allowed him.

We had a building, made of Bamboo and Cover'd with Matts, nearly abreast the Ship on the Banks of the River. This was found by the Compadore and answer'd very well for to put the Ship's stores in while careening and loading. An Officer and gang of hands was station'd at this place, as a guard. There was two large boats station'd along side the Ship, with Customs house officers on board, the whole time we lay'd in the river. A family resided in each boat (they being completely shelter'd). The Manderine had an apartment by himself.

1793, *January* 1. Rec'd a letter from Capt. Kendrick, who inform'd us of the death of Messrs. Wood and Stodderd, two young men of Boston. I believe they liv'd too fast for the climate.

When we arriv'd at Whampoa there was upwards of a dozen fine Hogs on deck, which we had reserv'd for the Passage home. The *Rascals* of the Chinese found means to throw them some poisinous stuff, which kill'd the whole of them. But we took notice as soon as they was thrown *overboard* they was eagerly seiz'd, and no doubt was feasted upon by the poor of the *River*; indeed nothing escap'd their clutches—the Entrails of Poultry, or Dead Rats serv'd equally alike to appease these half starv'd wretches that constantly surrounds the shipping. However I always remark'd that they was very nice in their Cookery, and Rice was always a part of ev'ry Mess. No Indians we had ever visited during the Voyage was more complete in the Art of thieving than the Chinese of the lower order, on this River. And in fact they appear'd to me to be the greatest Villains in the *Universe*. (These remarks are only as respects the common people.) The Chinese Gentlemen is of a very different *character*, and indeed I was highly pleas'd with the polite attention shown to strangers at Canton, by the Mandarines and Merchants at that place; indeed among themselves they appear to stand upon the nicest *Etiquette*. The Chinese merchant is very particular in his business, and

very nice in his calculations, and no part of his affairs appear to be unnotic'd by him. In making a bargain they are very *shrewd*; when closed they are *faithful* as to quantity, but for quality you must be constantly on your guard or else 'tis certain the Goods will not turn out as expected, and the only satisfaction you will get from them is that you ought to have looked sharper, and at the same [time] will try to console you by this remark, that on another Voyage you will be better acquainted with the mode of doing business at Canton. Upon the whole, the Candour that is about the Chinese merchant makes some amends for the general complaint against them, that they *will* cheat you, if they can—therefore your business is to see that *they shall not*.

'Tis surprizing to observe the business that is going on in the Suburbs of Canton; the streets are generally thronged with people, all busily engag'd in their several avocations; the Shops well stock'd with Goods, and appear to meet with encouragement. Few *Women* are to be seen. *These* (if Chinese) have the small crippled feet, the Ankle looking like an Horse's hoof. If *Tarter*, the feet is of the natural growth. So much has been said about Canton, and the Manners and Customs of the Chinese, that 'tis needless for me to make any further remarks on the subject.

FROM CANTON TOWARDS THE STRAITS OF BANCA

February 2. This day the Pilot came on board and took charge. Unmoor'd and stood down the River. Left but 7 Ships behind, all English and *Swedes*.

4. 'Anchor'd this day below the Bars. Wind gradually in our teeth, work along with the tides.

6. Anchor'd just above the Boca *Tigris*; in the Night the Chinese rasscles cut the cable, although we kept a good watch. Let go another, and brought up. In the morning, the Buoy being taken away, cou'd not recover the Anchor. Therefore left it with 9 fm. Cable.

7. Pass'd the Boca *Tigris*, and stood for Macao roads.

8. Ran through *Macao Roads*, and stood to sea. The Pilot left us. Took a departure from the Macao Fort, it lying in

Latitude $22^{\circ} 13'$ North, and Longitude $113^{\circ} 52'$ East of London. Some Chinese junks in company. Find the Ship *requires* one Pump pretty steady to keep her free. However as it has been a steady leak for some time it is not look'd upon as a serious affair. The Wind prevails from the Easterly board, and is very squally.

The Ship's Crew are all well and hearty, and looking forward, with anxious solicitude, to a happy meeting of *Sweethearts* and *Wives*. How can we be otherways than happy, when anticipating the joys that *awaits* us there!!²⁰⁸

9. N. Lat. $19^{\circ} 57'$; W. Long. $246^{\circ} 39'$; E. Long. $113^{\circ} 21'$; Azi. $1^{\circ} 43'$ W. Wind at SE. Pleasant weather. Two Chinese Junks in company.

10. N. Lat. $19^{\circ} 35'$; W. Long. $245^{\circ} 44'$; E. Long. $114^{\circ} 16'$; Amp'd $0^{\circ} 43'$ W. Wind SSW. Junks in company. Very pleasant, light airs.

12. N. Lat. $17^{\circ} 31'$; W. Long. $246^{\circ} 35'$; E. Long. $113^{\circ} 25'$. Azi. $0^{\circ} 48'$ W. Wind SE. and pleasant weather. See Boobies often.

14. N. Lat. $15^{\circ} 2'$; W. Long. $246^{\circ} 14'$; E. Long. $113^{\circ} 46'$. Took the wind at NE., which I suppose is the *Monsoon*.

18. N. Lat. $9^{\circ} 44'$; W. Long. $250^{\circ} 48'$; E. Long. $109^{\circ} 12'$. At Midnight saw a small Isle bearing SWBS. 1 league, and soon after see Pulo Sapata, bearing SBE. 2 leagues to the North'd. At 6 A. M. bore off and made sail. Wind ENE. Cou'd not weather *Pulo Sapata*. Pass'd two miles to the Westward of it. When the Isle bore East, a large White Rock or Isle bore NNW., 6 or 7 leagues distant. At 9 was clear of Sapata,^{208½} and see no dangers in the track we pursued, although I believe 't was quite an unfrequented one. This Sapata Isle is very properly named, as it has every appearance of a Shoe—after which it is *called* in Malay. Bore off to the west'd with an intention of striking soundings off Pulo *Condore*. Pulo Sapata, Latitude is $10^{\circ} 4'$, and $109^{\circ} 10'$ E.

19. N. Lat. $8^{\circ} 4'$; W. Long. $252^{\circ} 4'$; E. Long. $107^{\circ} 56'$.

²⁰⁸ The course of the *Columbia* from Canton to and through the Straits of Sunda is that followed by the vessels of the day. Any one wishing details can find them readily in Dixon's Voyage and in Portlock's Voyage, and even in Captain Cook's Third Voyage.

^{208½} See Captain Cook's Third Voyage, 4to. ed. 1785, vol. 3, p. 449, and 8vo.

Regular NE. Monsoon. Soundings at Noon 26 fathom, fine sand.

20. N. Lat. $6^{\circ} 9'$; W. Long. $252^{\circ} 46'$; E. Long. $107^{\circ} 14'$. Soundings at Noon, 32 fm., fine sand.

21. N. Lat. $4^{\circ} 28'$; W. Long. $253^{\circ} 23'$; E. Long. $106^{\circ} 37'$; Azi. $1^{\circ} 18'$ E. Soundings at Noon 45 fm., steady Monsoon.

22. N. Lat. $3^{\circ} 0'$; W. Long. $255^{\circ} 5'$; E. Long. $104^{\circ} 55'$. The Islands of Pulo Timon, Aore, and Tissang^{209-209½} in sight to the Southward. At Noon Pulo Aore bore SBW½ 10 leagues. Soundings 35 fathom.

23. N. Lat. $0^{\circ} 56'$; W. Long. $254^{\circ} 20'$; E. Long. $105^{\circ} 40'$. Soundings at Noon 35 fm., Sand and Mud.

24. S. Lat. $0^{\circ} 44'$; W. Long. $254^{\circ} 46'$; E. Long. $105^{\circ} 14'$. This day saw Pulo Taya to the westward. At Noon Pulo Taya²¹⁰ bore WNW. 6 leagues, the Seven Islands, SBE. Experience a current to the Southward this 24 hours, the Monsoon moderate.

25. S. Lat. $1^{\circ} 43'$; W. Long. $255^{\circ} 9'$; E. Long. $104^{\circ} 51'$. Pass'd between Taya and the Seven Isles, distance from Seven Isles about 4 leagues. More Islands hove in sight to the SE. At Sunset saw land, which we took for Monopin Hill. Laid off and on through the Night under short sail. Soundings from 8 to 16 fathom. At daylight Monopin Hill bore SBE, 7 leagues. Bore off. At Meridian Monopin Hill bore E½N and the Sumatra shore WSW., the ship nearest the Banca Shore,²¹¹ strong currents to the Southward. Soundings 18 fathom.

STRAITS OF BANCA

26. S. Lat. $2^{\circ} 43'$. Enter'd the Straits of Banca, and stood to the SE. At 5 P. M. Monopin Hill bearing NNW, the Ship being ½ nearest to the Banca shore from Sumatra on. We

ed. 1784. Dublin, vol. 3, p. 449. See also Dixon's Voyage, 2nd ed. 1789, p. 323.

²⁰⁹ These are evidently the islands mentioned by Captain King as Pulo Timon, Pulo Puisang and Pulo Aor. See Cook's Third Voyage, vol. 3, p. 465, *et seq.*

^{209½} Tioman, Aor and Pemangil or Tingy?—W. C. F.

²¹⁰ Saya.—W. C. F.

²¹¹ In Marchand's Voyage, vol. 2, p. 1, among the plans and sketches, will be found one showing the tracks of some eight ships through the straits between Banca and Billiton.

shoal'd the water very sudden from 10 to 3 fathoms, rocks, bore off to the South and West, and soon deep'd it again. This must have been on the Fredrick Hendrik Shoal.

In the evening came to on the Sumatra shore, 9 fm. Mud, strong tides. 3d point bore EBS. 2 leagues.

At daylight got under way, and stood down straits. At 10 abreast the *Nanka Isles*, a number of Malay proas in sight. At 11 A. M. a dangerous shoal bore West 1 league, high breakers. At Noon *observ'd* as above. 1st pt. bore SBE. 4 leagues.

27. S. Lat. $4^{\circ} 21'$; W. Long. $253^{\circ} 43'$; E. Long. $106^{\circ} 17'$ O C. Winds from NW. and pleasant. At 2 P. M. pass'd a *Moorish Sloop, at anchor*. She was strongly man'd and arm'd. I believe she was a Pirate. Many Proas about. At Sunset the Isle of Lucepara bore SEBE 3 leagues, and 1st point on Sumatra, SWBS. Pass'd nearest to the Sumatra Shore, the shoalest water $4\frac{1}{2}$ fm. and when through deep'd it to 12 and 14 fm. A strong tide in favour. At Noon *observ'd* as above.

28. S. Lat. $4^{\circ} 39'$; W. Long. $253^{\circ} 50'$; E. Long. $106^{\circ} 10' * C$. Depth of Water, from 10 to 14 fm. throughout these 24 hours. Wind from the West'd, and very dark weather. Bound towards the Straits of *Sunda*.

March 1. S. Lat. $5^{\circ} 9'$. At sunset see the Two Sisters²¹² Isles to the Southward, wind to the SW. and very light. Soundings from 12 to 14 fm. At dark came to off the *Sumatra* shore, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues distant, $9\frac{1}{2}$ fm. Mud. In the morning got under way. At Noon *observ'd* Lat. as above, the Sisters bearing SSE. 2 miles.

2. S. Lat. $5^{\circ} 25'$. Wind at West. Soundings throughout the 24 hours from 12 to 15 fm. Found these Isles of Sisters to be surround'd with Dangerous Reefs. In the evening came to in 12 fm. Muddy bottom. Hogs point on Sumatra in sight bearing South 11 leagues, and North Island SWBS $\frac{1}{2}$ W. In the morning weigh'd and stood towards North Isle. At Noon *observ'd* as above.

AT NORTH ISLE AND STRAITS OF SUNDA

3. Winds moderate and cloudy, working towards *North*

²¹² Two Brothers?—W. C. F.

Isles Roads. At sunset came to in the Roads, 15 fm. muddy bottom. Pass'd several Turtle and Water Snakes between the Sisters and our anchorage. The two ships shew English Colours. In the morning early shifted our berth nearer the watering place, and at 7 A. M. anchor'd in 15 fm. Hoisted out *all* the *Boats*, and dispatch'd them for water. The ships that lay in the Road was an English 64, Capt. Gore²¹³ and the *Indostan* India Company Ship, Capt. *Mackintosh*. The *Lion* had on board Mr. Macartney,²¹⁴ a Minister from the British Government to the Court of Pekin. We took Dispatches for them to leave at *St. Helena*. Towards evening these ships sail'd for Batavia. Two Dutch Guard of Coasters anchor'd in company with us. By night we had fill'd up all our water and purchas'd a good quantity of Poultry and Fruit of the Malays at the Beach. I landed, with the charge of our boats, found above 200 Malays round the watering place. They was completely arm'd, with *Creases*, (or *Daggers*), but was quite *friendly*. However I did not allow the Boats to touch the beach and only let 6 men beside myself land, and swam the water casks off to the boats, *when fill'd*. This method I thought but prudent, as the *Malays* had kill'd one of the *Lion's* crew, while washing cloaths at the brook. I cannot say that I experienced the most agreeable sensations while on this duty.

4. Employ'd variously. Got a good quantity of Wood from North Isle. The watering place being on Sumatra, we see no Natives on North Isle.

5. Weigh'd and sail'd from North Island Roads, bound through Sunda Straits, pass'd the Qepthan Isles and Stroon Rock, upon which was high breakers. Pass'd it on the lar-board hand. At Meridian Crackatoa Isle bore SSW. 4 miles, sounding 20 fm. St. Tamanies Isle NNE. Wind SSW.

6. S. Lat. 6° 2'. Wind from SW. to NW. and very squally weather, with heavy rain. Turning to windward between Princes Island and Crokatore and in the Night came very near depositing the Ship on the Qu Klip rocks. However good luck prevail'd. Crew all in health.

7. S. Lat. 6° 39'. At Meridian Princes Isle bore East and

²¹³ Erasmus Gower.—W. C. F.

²¹⁴ George Macartney, Earl Macartney (1737-1806).—W. C. F.

Java Head ESE. 5 leagues. Wind from NW. Stood to the southward.

8. S. Lat. $7^{\circ} 13'$; W. Long. $255^{\circ} 36'$; E. Long. $104^{\circ} 24'$. Steady NW. Monsoon and pleasant.

9. S. Lat. $8^{\circ} 4'$; W. Long. $255^{\circ} 47'$; E. Long. $104^{\circ} 13'$; Amp'd $1^{\circ} 24'$ East. Wind WSW. and squally weather.

13. S. Lat. $10^{\circ} 47'$; W. Long. $257^{\circ} 40'$; E. Long. $102^{\circ} 20'$ ☉ ☾. This day took the SE. trade winds after having experienced the NW. Monsoon quite variable from SSW. to NNW., and weather much unsettled, with plenty of rain and a continual swell from the Southward. Many *Boobies* about us.

20. S. Lat. $15^{\circ} 32'$; W. Long. $270^{\circ} 16'$; E. Long. $89^{\circ} 44'$; Azi. $1^{\circ} 54'$ E. This is an uncommon Variation for the place. Have had fine weather since taking the SE. *Trades*.

27. S. Lat. $17^{\circ} 1'$; W. Long. $280^{\circ} 57'$; E. Long. $79^{\circ} 3'$. Have had the wind from the west'd these three days past, with squally weather. This day it drew to the SE. again. Caught several Dolphin.

30. S. Lat. $16^{\circ} 32'$; W. Long. $286^{\circ} 5'$; E. Long. $73^{\circ} 55'$; Azi. $4^{\circ} 38'$ W. Pleasant SE. Trade winds.

April 1. S. Lat. $16^{\circ} 55'$; W. Long. $289^{\circ} 25'$; E. Long. $70^{\circ} 35'$; Azi. $7^{\circ} 36'$ W. Have experienced a little Thunder and Lightning, for several days at intervals.

3. S. Lat. $18^{\circ} 52'$; W. Long. $295^{\circ} 0'$; E. Long. $65^{\circ} 0'$; Azi. $14^{\circ} 0'$ W. Fresh trades and Hazy weather.

SAW THE ISLE OF RODERIGUE AND MAURITIUS. SOUTHERN OCEAN

4. S. Lat. $19^{\circ} 37'$; W. Long. *Corrected* $297^{\circ} 10'$; E. Long. $62^{\circ} 50'$ ☉ ☾. This day made the *Isle of Roderigue* bearing SW. The Ship having experienced a current to the West'd since leaving the Straits of Sunda. Found this Island to be surround'd with dangerous Reefs—the one on its NW. extends many miles into the Sea.

5. S. Lat. $19^{\circ} 44'$; W. Long. $299^{\circ} 11'$; E. Long. $60^{\circ} 49'$; Azi. $10^{\circ} 4'$ W. Amp'd $9^{\circ} 58'$ W. Wind from the south'd and pleasant.

7. S. Lat. $20^{\circ} 36'$; W. Long. $302^{\circ} 19'$; E. Long. $57^{\circ} 41'$.

Saw the Isle of France at daylight. At noon the South pt. of Mauritius bore WNW, 8 leagues, very high uneven land.

8. S. Lat. $21^{\circ} 36'$; W. Long. $303^{\circ} 38'$; E. Long. $56^{\circ} 22'$. Pleasant trade winds. Saw the Isle of *Bourbon*. At noon it bore NW. 10 or 12 leagues. Exceeding mountainous.

10. S. Lat. $24^{\circ} 4'$; W. Long. $307^{\circ} 55'$; E. Long. $52^{\circ} 5'$; Azi. $18^{\circ} 51'$ W. Fresh SE. trades and squally. Crew all well.

14. S. Lat. $28^{\circ} 2'$; W. Long. $315^{\circ} 59'$; E. Long. $44^{\circ} 1'$. Azi. $22^{\circ} 25'$ ☉ ☾ O *. Wind still at SE. and pleasant weather.

17. S. Lat. $30^{\circ} 41'$; W. Long. $323^{\circ} 44'$; E. Long. $36^{\circ} 16'$ ☉ ☾. This day the SE. trades left us, and immediately took the wind from NW.

19. S. Lat. $29^{\circ} 32'$; W. Long. $325^{\circ} 49'$; E. Long. $34^{\circ} 11'$; Azi. and Amp'd $23^{\circ} 50'$ W. ☉ ☾ O * 16 O ☾ Sight. Wind at SW. and pleasant cool weather. Current setting to the NE.

21. S. Lat. $29^{\circ} 37'$; W. Long. $326^{\circ} 48'$; E. Long. $33^{\circ} 12'$; Azi. $25^{\circ} 30'$ W. Wind from west, and pleasant.

23. S. Lat. $31^{\circ} 11'$; W. Long. $328^{\circ} 20'$; E. Long. $31^{\circ} 40'$; Azi. and Amp'd $27^{\circ} 56'$ W. Wind from the Eastward. Experience a strong current setting to the North.

28. S. Lat. $33^{\circ} 58'$; W. Long. $336^{\circ} 13'$; E. Long. $23^{\circ} 47'$; Amp'd $28^{\circ} 28'$ W. Have had much blowing weather for some time. This day saw the land about Muscle Bay,²¹⁵ at 11 leagues distance. At Noon Cape Talhado bore NW. The current has changed, and now sets strong to the SW. Wind from the Westward.

OFF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

29. S. Lat. $34^{\circ} 12'$; W. Long. $337^{\circ} 6'$; E. Long. $22^{\circ} 54'$. Soundings 45 fm. Black sand, $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from land, many smoakes on shore. At Noon the land in sight bore from North to ENE., a strong current in favour. Wind right a head.

30. S. Lat. $34^{\circ} 22'$; W. Long. $338^{\circ} 3'$; E. Long. $21^{\circ} 57'$ ☉ ☾. Many Gannetts and some seals round. Pass'd Cape St. Brass, saw the 7 Hills, and a number of Fires on the shore through the Night. Generally keep about 5 leagues from the Coast. Wind a head. So ends.

²¹⁵ Mossel Bay.—W. C. F.

May 1. S. Lat. $34^{\circ} 49'$; W. Long. $340^{\circ} 9'$; E. Long. $19^{\circ} 51'$; Amp'd $25^{\circ} 18'$ W. Land at 10 leagues distance, 75 fm. sand and shells. A current to the S & W.

2. S. Lat. $34^{\circ} 29'$; W. Long. $340^{\circ} 27'$; E. Long. $19^{\circ} 33'$; Azi. $26^{\circ} 24'$ W. Wind steady from the Westward, not even allowing us a tolerable slant. Sounding 54 fm. grey sand with shells. Keep an offing generally of about 6 or 7 leagues, the land very mountainous in our present situation. At Noon the land 5 leagues distance, 57 fm., fine grey sand and shells.

3. S. Lat. $34^{\circ} 32'$; W. Long. $337^{\circ} 30'$; E. Long. $22^{\circ} 30'$ $\odot \text{C}$. Fresh gales, employ'd working to windward.

4. S. Lat. $35^{\circ} 1'$; W. Long. $340^{\circ} 0'$; E. Long. $20^{\circ} 0'$ O C . At length, thank God, the wind chang'd to the Eastward, made all sail, haul'd more to the Southward to clear Cape Lagullas.²¹⁶

5. S. Lat. $34^{\circ} 40'$; W. Long. $340^{\circ} 30'$; E. Long. $19^{\circ} 30'$ $\odot \text{C}$. Saw the Table land and Gunners Quoin to the East of False Bay. At Noon Cape Point bore NW'd 10 leagues. Wind SE. Bore off to the North'd and West'd.

9. S. Lat. $31^{\circ} 29'$; W. Long. $344^{\circ} 39'$; E. Long. $15^{\circ} 21'$; Azi. $22^{\circ} 0'$ W. Wind from the Westward.

10. S. Lat. $30^{\circ} 24'$; W. Long. $346^{\circ} 28'$; E. Long. $13^{\circ} 32'$; Azi. $21^{\circ} 40'$ W. Wind at SW. and fair weather. Crew all in health.

13. S. Lat. $27^{\circ} 7'$; W. Long. $350^{\circ} 52'$; E. Long. $9^{\circ} 8'$; Amp'd $20^{\circ} 34'$ W. $\odot \text{C}$. Winds still from SW to NW.

16. S. Lat. $24^{\circ} 27'$; W. Long. $353^{\circ} 1'$; E. Long. $6^{\circ} 59'$; Azi. & Amp'd $20^{\circ} 26'$, $19^{\circ} 22'$ W. $\odot \text{C} * \text{C}$. Winds steady from the Westward.

17. S. Lat. $24^{\circ} 27'$; W. Long. $353^{\circ} 16'$; E. Long. $6^{\circ} 44'$; O C . Amp'd $20^{\circ} 30'$. Tight winds for men in a hurry, steady at NW.

20. S. Lat. $20^{\circ} 9'$; W. Long. $357^{\circ} 3'$; E. Long. $2^{\circ} 57'$. This day took the SE. trade winds box'd her away for St. Helena.

21. Pass'd the Meridian of London.

ST. HELENA ISLAND

25. S. Lat. $15^{\circ} 54'$; W. Long. $5^{\circ} 46'$. Saw the Island of St. Helena at Sunset. Hove to for the night. Early in the

morning sent a boat in to ask permission of the Governor to anchor in the Bay. At 9 the Boat return'd, and the officer reported favorably. Bore off, and at 10 anchor'd in Chapell Vally bay, in 14 fm. mud and sand, the Church bearing SE. Found riding here several English India and Whale Ships—waiting for Convoy. At this place we first heard of the War and troubles in Europe, and that poor Louis was a head shorter. Capt. Gray landed to visit the Governor. Employ'd watering. The Lieutenant Governor (by name *Robinson*) paid us a visit. He appear'd to be an excellent man and was anxious to obtain curiosities from us, to put in his Museum. He appear'd gratify'd with the Collection that was present'd him. I must confess that I was agreeably surpriz'd on landing at James Town, for from the appearance it has from the Ship at anchor you feel prepossessed against it, but to me, when on shore, 'twas quite a pleasant place, and the sight of an English Lady made my heart feel all in an uproar—and alas! the poor Sandwich Isle Girls were entirely forgot. So it is, and we cannot help it.

26. S. Lat. $15^{\circ} 54'$; W. Long. $5^{\circ} 46'$. Finish'd watering, and got ready for sea. I made an excursion in company with a Brother Officer to view the Company's Garden, and was amply rewarded for my trouble. 'T was kept in fine order. St. Helena had been visited by a famine, not long since, which carried off the greatest part of their stock and greatly distress'd the inhabitants. Consequently cou'd not procure much refreshments for the Ship.

The Island to the windward makes a most rugged appearance, and indeed in the Bay 't is not much mended but to leeward 'tis quite pleasant and the roads—though the work of Art chiefly—are far from being bad. The Inhabitants are very polite to strangers, and in short no Man after a long voyage ought to pass this pleasant and agreeable place without stopping. You get the Water with great ease, as its convey'd to the Port by pipes under ground. You fill with a Hose, and are not oblig'd to take the Casks from the Boat, but in case you do, there is a Crane on the *pier* to load with. Shou'd have sail'd this evening but 'tis against the rules of the Port to sail after sunset.

BOUND FOR BOSTON

27. S. Lat. $15^{\circ} 34'$; W. Long. $6^{\circ} 15'$. Sailed at daylight, and stood to the NW., with pleasant sensations enough at what awaits us in that direction.

28. S. Lat. $14^{\circ} 33'$; W. Long. $7^{\circ} 14'$ Azi. $12^{\circ} 6'$ W. ☉ ☾. Pleasant trade winds and fair weather.

June 3. S. Lat. $8^{\circ} 32'$; W. Long. $15^{\circ} 9'$ O ☾ * ☾. Azi. & Amp'd. $11^{\circ} 2'$ W., $10^{\circ} 50'$ W. Pass'd the Isle of Assencion about midnight, at 2 miles distance.

7. S. Lat. $1^{\circ} 22'$; W. Long. $22^{\circ} 10'$. Azi. $11^{\circ} 38'$ W. O ☾. Plenty of fish about the Ship, and a few Birds.

9. N. Lat. $1^{\circ} 10'$; W. Long. $22^{\circ} 33'$; Amp'd $7^{\circ} 41'$ W. * ☾. This is the fourth time the Equator has been cross'd during the Voyage.

16. N. Lat. $6^{\circ} 0'$; W. Long. $30^{\circ} 38'$. Azi. $6^{\circ} 48'$ W. O ☾. Dull times. Winds very light and baffling.

20. N. Lat. $7^{\circ} 28'$; W. Long. $33^{\circ} 26'$; Variation $2^{\circ} 26'$ W. ☉ ☾. This day took the NE. trade winds, having lost the SE. trades in Lat. $4^{\circ} 30'$ North. Winds between have generally been from the West'd but very light.

22. N. Lat. $9^{\circ} 58'$; W. Long. $36^{\circ} 49'$; Azi. $2^{\circ} 26'$ W. Pleasant trade winds. Employ'd painting ship, etc.

24. N. Lat. $12^{\circ} 38'$; W. Long. $41^{\circ} 0'$; Amp'd $3^{\circ} 7'$ W. Pleasant trade winds. Employ'd painting ship, etc.

27. N. Lat. $17^{\circ} 55'$; W. Long. $46^{\circ} 36'$; Azi. $4^{\circ} 36'$ W. Generally fresh winds. No Birds, or Fish.

30. N. Lat. $22^{\circ} 11'$; W. Long. $51^{\circ} 2'$; Azi. & Amp'd $3^{\circ} 10'$ W.

☉ ☾
16 ☉ ☾ Sights
* ☾

Gentle trades and fair weather. Several sail pass'd at a *distance*.

July 2. N. Lat. $24^{\circ} 29'$; W. Long. $53^{\circ} 11'$; Azi. $2^{\circ} 46'$ W. O ☾. Spoke an English Brig, under American colours, from New London, bound to Grenada, loaded with stock. Was oblig'd to fire several shot a head of him before he wou'd stop. Purchas'd out of her many Sheep Hogs etc., with two tierces

Bread. This was quite a seasonable Supply, as we had been eating maggotty bread for this some time.

5. N. Lat. $25^{\circ} 33'$; W. Long. $56^{\circ} 13'$. Spoke two Sloops from Portland for Guadal[oupe].

8. N. Lat. $28^{\circ} 16'$; W. Long. $59^{\circ} 35'$; Variation $1^{\circ} 28'$ E. O \mathbb{C} . This day the NE. trade wind left us, took it from the Southward.

18. N. Lat. $40^{\circ} 17'$; W. Long. $65^{\circ} 15'$; Variation $14^{\circ} 55'$ W. O $\mathbb{C} * \mathbb{C}$. Spoke the Brig *Betsey* from New York, Wm. Williams Master, bound to Amsterdam. Have experienc'd much blowing weather from the North and West since leaving the Trades, and generally squalls of rain. Ship's Crew are all in health, but anxious to get home, as the Ship's provisions have grown quite bad and but little of it left.

20. N. Lat. $40^{\circ} 23'$; W. Long. $67^{\circ} 51'$; Azi. & Amp'd $12^{\circ} 17'$ W. Winds from the Northward.

21. N. Lat. $40^{\circ} 29'$; W. Long. $68^{\circ} 35'$; Azi. $7^{\circ} 16'$ W. Dull times for men in a hurry. The *Columbia* is in fine order, having given the rigging a complete overhaul since leaving St. Helena. Rounded to and got soundings 67 fm. fine black and white sand.


22. N. Lat. $42^{\circ} 11'$; W. Long. $68^{\circ} 45'$. At Sunset sounded, in 38 fm. gray sand. Spoke a Sloop from Newbury port, bound to the West Indies, told us Cape Cod bore NW. 30 leagues. At Midnight shoald our water pretty sudden. from 20 to 15, 12, 10 and 8 fm., fine white sand on Georges Shoal; hauld to the East and soon deep'd it again to 30 fm. At Noon Latt. as above, soundings in 40 fathom. Wind from the WSW. Hard luck.

24. Lower'd the yawl and sent her on board a fishing Schooner in sight to the west'd, it being nearly calm. At Sunset the boat return'd and Officer reported that the Skipper of the Schooner cou'd not spare any salt provisions, but sold us 3 Bar'l Salt Mackarell and about 300 Ship Biscuit. These last were very grateful. Divided them fore and aft among the Crew. A breeze sprang up from the Eastward pt., all sail, and at daylight saw Cape Cod bearing SW. at 6 leagues, and the Gurnett WBS, the land abreast us on the South Shore, 4

leagues distance. Several sail in sight. Employ'd turning to Windward, the wind having shifted to the NW.

ARRIVED AT BOSTON

25. Light breezes and pleasant weather. At 1 P. M. nearly abreast of Cohasset Rocks, almost calm. At Sunset we had got too near to Hassett Ledges, by reason of the tide. However a small breeze sprang up and we san'd off. At daylight Boston Light bore WBN. 3 leagues distant. At 8 A. M. a pilot came on board and took charge to take the Ship to *Boston*. At Meridian pass'd the Light house, with a light air from the Eastward. At 6 we pass'd Castle *William*, and gave a federal salute, which was return'd. A fine Breeze at SE. At 7 anchored off the Long wharfe in the Stream and saluted the town, with 11 Guns which was return'd from the Wharfes, with three welcome *Huzzas*.

 At making Boston Light, from which place we took our departure, we have just made 360 degrees of Longitude West, which is the Circumference of our Globe—of course we have lost one complete day. It was Friday at Boston, and Thursday with us. 'Tis impossible to express our feelings at again meeting with our friends. But the loss of an affectionate and much lov'd Sister, during my absence, was a great obstacle to the happiness I shou'd otherways have enjoy'd.

So Ends the Remarks on *Columbia's* Voyage.

JOHN BOIT.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF PORT TEMPEST AND MASSACRE COVE.

The identification of Port Tempest and Massacre Cove is a subject that has attracted much attention; many have tried to solve it, but none of these solutions have been accepted by the students of Pacific Coast history. Professor E. S. Meany has prepared a short but interesting note upon this difficulty, which will be found in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. xii, p. 15. In such circumstances the identification of Port Tempest with the western end of Tongass Narrows, or Revillagigedo Channel, is offered with deference; it is not a case for dogmatizing; it is essentially a case in which reasons must be given for the faith which is held.

In this search Boit's journal is of little assistance; and Haswell's Log unfortunately does not commence until August, just as the *Columbia* is preparing to leave the ill-fated shore. Hoskins, very fortunately, is quite full in his account of the two spots and Brown's Sound in general. At the outset it must be premised that the latitude and longitude of the early traders, with the single exception of Ingraham, are quite unsafe guides; the latitude is sometimes nearly right, the longitude, never. So, to, the distances, like those of the land traders, are only to be taken, in most cases, as approximations.

As Boit's journal shows, the *Columbia* left Cumshewa Inlet, Queen Charlotte Islands, on 1st August. Hoskins gives her courses thereafter; but Boit's

statement that she stood along the shore about three or four leagues from land shows that it was the mainland—the depths he gives could not be gotten at that distance from the Queen Charlotte Islands' shore. Through Hecate Strait, up which she is sailing, there is a current of one to two knots in a northeasterly direction. Thick fog comes on and a heavy gale from the southeast, which continue for two days, during which the *Columbia* beats to and fro. On the 3rd August the fog lifts, an indifferent observation is taken, and the ship is found embayed. This spot, it is suggested, was the stretch of water immediately to the eastward of Prince of Wales Island. Captain Gray then, says Hoskins, determined to stand "to the northward through what was supposed to be a strait between the continent and some islands." Upon the foregoing hypothesis this strait would be between Prince of Wales Island and the Gravina Islands. After being driven in that direction by the southeast gale for three hours, land was seen in every direction but the westward; this means that in the fog Kasaan Bay, which lay ahead, seemed open water. The ship pursued her course and two hours later "the land was seen close aboard"; then a passage opened to the northwest. This, it is submitted, is Clarence Strait; but, being directly to leeward, it was thought unwise to enter it, and an effort was made to find a harbour on the weather shore. Reaching that shore—the eastern—Boit says a small opening appeared, the *Columbia* made for it, and anchored under a point of land in Port Tempest. If the other suggested identifications be correct, this opening will be the western end of Revillagigedo Channel, otherwise Tongass Narrows, in southern Alaska, and the "point of land," the western end of Gravina Island. Hoskins gives its position as $55^{\circ} 15'$ north, longitude $132^{\circ} 20'$ west; the situation of the western end of Revillagigedo Channel is about $55^{\circ} 25'$ north and $131^{\circ} 45'$ west; the difference is no greater than is to be found over and over again in the journal, though the longitude is usually too far east.

Hoskins describes Brown's Sound, as the stretch of water in the neighborhood of Port Tempest was called. The above suggested site of Port Tempest fits his description exactly. After stating that the sound has many arms, he proceeds to specify them; the geography of the suggested locality answers the requirements in an appealing and convincing manner. The first branch that Hoskins mentions is that upon which Port Tempest was situated; it trended east inclining to south as far as the eye could reach; this is Revillagigedo Channel. There was another arm extending to the north; this is Behm Canal. Then another running in a northwesterly course "up which the natives informed me was a village called Cahta"; this is Kasaan Bay, on which the Indian village of Cahta or Carta exists today. There was another arm leading west northwest, in which the horizon was clear to the limit of vision, and which he took to be a strait; this is Clarence Strait. Finally there was another arm stretching to the west southerly, "up which I was informed by the natives was their village of Sushin"; this is Cholmondeley Sound, on which is the abandoned Indian village of Sushin or Sushan, Chasina or Chachina! Having disposed of the large branches, Hoskins adds that there were other smaller inlets; these are Baker Inlet, Skowl Bay, etc.

The general geography of the suggested site of Port Tempest being thus shown to correspond with Hoskins' description, it will now be shown that the suggested spot fits also with the details that he furnishes. At Port Tempest, he tells us there were "also two small islands which afforded some little shelter"; and at the western end of Revillagigedo Channel is Guard Island, which is described in the Alaska Coast Pilot, 1883, p. 82, as "consisting of rocks uniting at low water two low, rocky, high-water islets, one west from and considerably larger than the other, and both bearing shrubs and a few trees." Vancouver also mentions them as "two small islands with some trees upon them, S 40 W, half a league distant" from Point Vallemar. Voyage, vol. 4, p. 184, 8vo. ed. Again, Hoskins says that from Port Tempest "the land to the northward was about four miles and that to the southward one mile distant." Here also the geography agrees. From Guard Island, at the western entrance of Revillagigedo Channel, to Cape Camaano, the nearest land to the north, the distance is four and a half miles, and from that island to the western end of Gravina Island—Point Vallemar, the nearest land to the southward—is about two miles.

And finally, in these small matters, Hoskins and Boit both mention the catching of salmon, but the latter, as usual, does not enter into details. Hoskins again comes to our aid. He says they went to a "river about six miles to the southward of the ship." That is, they went down Revillagigedo Channel six miles. At that distance lies Ward Cove. "A creek forming a small bank at its mouth falls in at the head of the cove"; Alaska Coast Pilot, 1883, p. 81. The method of fishing shows that the "river" was only a brook, for the men waded into the water, threshing it with long poles and scaring the fish down the fall, where they were gaffed with harpoons, boat hooks, etc.

Leaving the geographical portion of the subject, a word may be said ethnographically. The Indians met in the vicinity of Port Tempest, as Hoskins records, spoke the same language and had many of the customs of the natives of Queen Charlotte Islands. They were therefore plainly the Kaigani Haida, an intrusion into the Tlingit territory, occupying the southern part of Prince of Wales Island

and the adjacent archipelago. They came from the villages already mentioned, Sushin and Cahta, the most easterly and northerly residences of the Kaigani Haida. Hoskins tells of the visit of a strange Chief and of the terror which it inspired in the Kaigani Haida. This stranger was, of course, of the Tlingit stock; the boundary between the two peoples was only some thirty miles northerly from the spot now suggested as being Port Tempest. This stranger spoke a language which the Americans could not understand; they had never met the Tlingit before, but had been confined to the Haida and the Tsimshian in the northern waters. It may be added that Vancouver had an exactly similar experience; see his *Voyage*, vol. 4, p. 225, 8vo. ed. 1801.

If Port Tempest be settled, there is no difficulty in locating Massacre Cove. Its exact position cannot perhaps be fixed, but its situation can, in a general way, be readily indicated. It was on the opposite, i. e., the western, side of Brown's Sound, as Boit's entry of 8th August shows. This would place it on the eastern shore of Prince of Wales Island. From it Port Tempest bore NEBN; in other words, Massacre Cove was SEBE from Port Tempest. This is borne out by the compass bearings in Boit's entry of 14th August. Massacre Cove therefore must lie between Cholmondeley Sound and Skowl Bay, perhaps about four miles southerly from Island Point, the entrance of the latter. Boit's statement that the distance between Port Tempest and Massacre Cove is twelve leagues is an exaggeration; if these identifications are correct, the real distance, as the crow flies, is about ten or twelve miles.

These reasons lead to the position that Port Tempest is identical with the western end of Revillagigedo Channel. It is not urged that they conclusively settle the question. They are merely put forward as a contribution to the effort to solve a problem that, though small and unimportant, is attractive because of its very difficulties.

In conclusion I wish to acknowledge, gratefully, my indebtedness to Dr. C. F. Newcombe, of Victoria, B. C., for his assistance in working out this identification. His local knowledge of the region is invaluable.

NOTE I.

For the location of the villages of Cahta and Sushan I am indebted to Dr. C. F. Newcombe, of Victoria, B. C. I append a portion of a recent letter on this point. "With reference to Cahta and Sushan, I am in a different position, having visited both places. The present Cahta, now spelt Carta, is at the head of Kasaan Inlet on the East side of Prince of Wales Island, but no doubt in early days included the present Indian village of Kasaan, which is nearer the mouth of the Inlet. An early copy by Arrowsmith in the Provincial Library, dated Jan. 1st, 1795, gives the name spelt Kada. Sushan is spelt in early days in several manners, as you will find by reference to "The Alaska Coast Pilot." It is right at the entrance of Cholmondeley Sound, and has long been deserted."

REMNANT OF OFFICIAL LOG OF THE COLUMBIA

ANNOTATIONS BY T. C. ELLIOTT.

Text in Greenhow, 1848 Edition, p. 434.

Extract from the Second Volume of the LOG BOOK OF THE SHIP COLUMBIA, of Boston, commanded by Robert Gray, containing the Account of her Entrance into Gray's Harbor and the Columbia River.

May 7th, 1792 A. M.—Being within six miles of the land, saw an entrance in the same, which had a very good appearance of a harbor; lowered away the jolly-boat, and went in search of an anchoring-place, the ship standing to and fro, with a very strong weather current. At one P. M., the boat, returned, having no place where the ship could anchor with safety¹; made sail on the ship; stood in for the shore. We soon saw from our mast-head, a passage in between the sand-bars. At half past three, bore away, and ran in north-east by east, having from four to eight fathoms, sandy bottom; and, as we drew in nearer between the bars, had from ten to thirteen fathoms, having a very strong tide of ebb to stem. Many canoes came alongside. At five, P. M., came to in five fathoms water, sandy bottom, in a safe harbor, well sheltered from the sea by long sand-bars and spits. Our latitude observed this day was 46 degrees 58 minutes north.

May 10th—Fresh breezes and pleasant weather; many natives along side; at noon all the canoes left us. At one, P. M., began to unmoor, took up the best bower anchor, and hove short on the small bower-anchor. At half past four, (being high water,) hove up the anchor, and came to sail and a beating down the harbor.²

May 11th.—At half past seven, we were out clear of the bars, and directed our course to the southward, along shore.³ At

¹ This log makes no mention of the sending of a small boat ahead of the ship, either here or at the mouth of the Columbia river, which precaution is mentioned by Mr. Boit in his journal. Neither does Capt. Gray mention any observations for longitude, as Mr. Boit does. For more extended comments see the Boit Journal printed herewith.

² This entry indicates that Capt. Gray's anchorage was not far inside the entrance, but any attempt to designate it would be mere speculation. The presumption is in favor of the bay behind one of the capes.

³ This entry written at evening on the 11th, clearly states that the ship left Gray's Harbor on the evening of the 10th. Boit erroneously puts the date as the 11th.

eight, P. m., the entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor bore north, distance four miles; the southern extremity of the land bore south-south-east half east, and the northern north-north-west; sent up the main top-gallant-yard and set all sail. At four, A. M., saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-south-east, distance six leagues; in steering sails, and hauled our wind in shore. At eight, A. M., being a little to windward of the entrance of the Harbor, bore away, and run in east-north-east between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water. When we were over the bar, we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered. Many canoes came alongside. At one, P. M., came to with the small bower, in ten fathoms, black and white sand.⁴ The entrance between the bars bore west-south-west, distant ten miles; the north side of the river a half a mile distant from the ship; the south side of the same two and a half miles' distance; a village on the north side of the river west by north, distant three quarters of a mile. Vast numbers of natives came alongside; people employed in pumping the salt water out of our water-casks, in order to fill with fresh, while the ship floated in. So ends.

May 12th.—Many natives alongside; noon, fresh wind; let go the best bower-anchor, and veered out on both cables; sent down the main-top-gallant-yard; filled up all the water-casks in the hold. The latter part, heavy gales, and rainy, dirty weather.

May 13th.—Fresh winds and rainy weather; many natives along-side; hove up the best bower-anchor; seamen and tradesmen at their various departments.

May 14th.—Fresh gales and cloudy; many natives alongside; at noon, weighed and came to sail, standing up the river north-east by east; we found the channel very narrow. At four, P. M., we had sailed upwards of twelve or fifteen miles, when the channel was so very narrow that it was almost impossible to keep in it, having from three to eighteen fathoms water, sandy bottom. At half past four, the ship took ground, but

⁴ This anchorage, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile off shore between Pt. Ellice and McGowans Station, was exposed to the wind and current, which fact partly explains the use of more than one anchor and the determination to move further up the river two days later.

she did not stay long before she came off, without any assistance. We backed her off, stern foremost, into three fathoms, and let go the small bower, and moored ship with kedge and hawser. The jolly-boat was sent to sound the channel out, but found it not navigable farther up; so, of course, we must have taken the wrong channel. So ends,⁵ with rainy weather; many natives alongside.

May 15th.—Light airs and pleasant weather; many natives from the different tribes came alongside. At ten, A. M., unmoored and dropped down with the tide to a better anchoring-place; smiths and other tradesmen constantly employed. In the afternoon, Captain Gray and Mr. Hoskins, in the jolly-boat, went on shore to take a short view of the country.

May 16th.—Light airs and cloudy. At four, A. M., hove up the anchor and towed down about three miles, with the last of the ebb tide; came into six fathoms, sandy bottom, the jolly-boat sounding the channel. At ten, A. M., a fresh breeze came up the river. With the first of the ebb-tide we got under way, and beat down the river. At one, (from its being very squally,) we came to, about two miles from the village, (*Chinook*) which bore west-south-west; many natives alongside; fresh gales and squally.⁶

May 17th.—Fresh winds and squally; many canoes alongside; calkers calking the pinnace; seamen paying the ship's sides with tar; painter painting ship; smiths and carpenters at their departments.

May 18th.—Pleasant weather. At four in the morning, began to heave ahead; at half past, came to sail, standing down the river with the ebb tide; at seven, (being slack water and the wind fluttering,) we came to in five fathoms, sandy bottom; the entrance between the bars bore south-west by west, distant three miles. The north point of the harbor bore north-west,

⁵ This day Capt. Gray proceeded around Point Ellice and past Cliff Point and Knappton as far as some sand bar in the shallow waters off the wide entrance to Gray's Bay, presumably more than half the distance across the entrance to that bay. By soundings from his small boats he then discovered that the deep water channel crossed the river above him, from Harrington's Point to Tongue Point, and that his ship was not in a safe place, and he therefore dropped down the following morning to a better anchorage off Point Gray (Frankfort).

⁶ Today the ship again dropped down stream, first to anchor opposite Knappton and later to the upper or lea side of Point Ellice, where she remained until the 18th.

distant two miles; the south bore south-east, distant three and a half miles. At nine, a breeze came up from the eastward; took up the anchor and came to sail, but the wind soon came fluttering again; came to anchor with the kedge and hawser; veered out fifty fathoms. Noon, pleasant. Latitude observed, 46 degrees 17 minutes north. At one, came to sail with the first of the ebb tide, and drifted down broadside, with light airs and strong tide; at three quarters past, a fresh wind came from the northward; wore ship, and stood into the river again. At four, came to in six fathoms; good holding-ground about six or seven miles up; many canoes along side.⁷

May 19th.—Fresh wind and clear weather. Early a number of canoes came alongside; seamen and tradesmen employed in their various departments. Captain Gray gave this river the name of *Columbia's River*, and the north side of the entrance *Cape Hancock*, the south, *Adams's Point*.

May 20th.—Gentle breezes and pleasant weather. At one, P. M. (being full sea,) took up the anchor, and made sail, standing down the river. At two, the wind left us, we being the bar with a very strong tide, which set on the breakers; it was now not possible to get out without a breeze to shoot her across the tide; so we were obliged to bring up in three and a half fathoms, the tide running five knots. At three quarters past two, a fresh wind came in from seaward; we immediately came to sail, and beat over the bar, having from five to seven fathoms water in the channel. At five, P. M., we were out, clear of all bars, and in twenty fathoms water.⁸ A breeze came from the southward; we bore away to the northward; set all sail to best advantage. At eight, Cape Hancock bore southeast, distant three leagues; the north extremity of the land in sight bore north by west. At nine, in steering and top-gallant sails. Midnight, light airs.

May 21st.—At six, A. M., the nearest land in sight bore east-south-east, distant eight leagues. At seven, set top-gallant-

⁷ This day Capt. Gray sailed down stream with the intention of crossing out, but, because of unfavorable conditions, returned up river again to an anchorage off Chinook Point (Fort Columbia), which was a very favorable spot for observing the capes and the entrance.

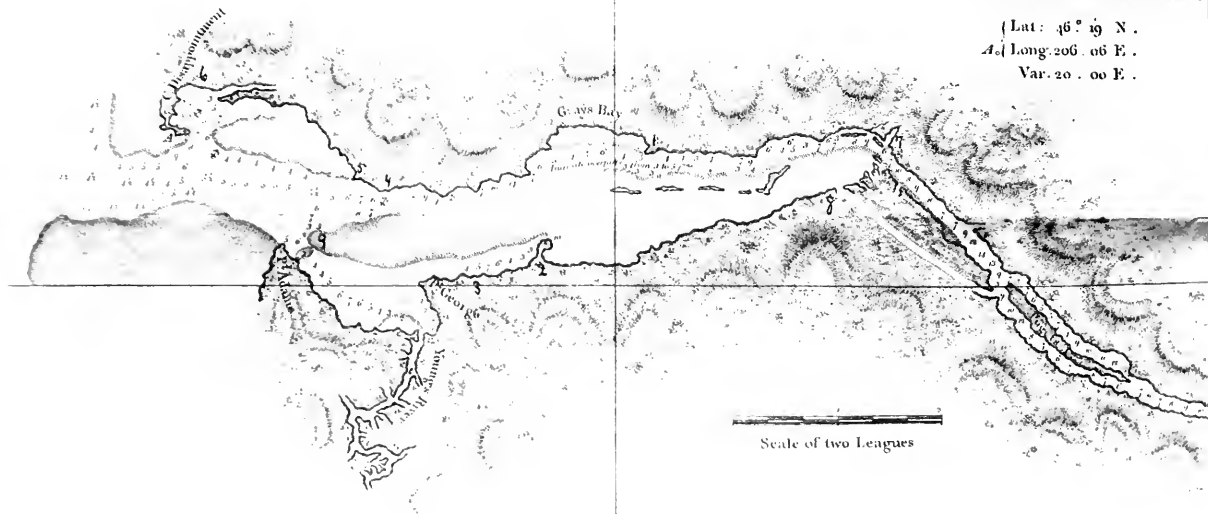
⁸ Good-bye to "Columbia's River," after a narrow escape from disaster upon Peacock and Clatsop spits on the way out.

sails and light stay-sails. At eleven set steering sails fore and aft. Noon, pleasant, agreeable weather. The entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor bore south-east by east half east, distant five leagues.

sails and light stay-sails. At eleven set steering sails fore and aft. Noon, pleasant, agreeable weather. The entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor bore south-east by east half east, distant five leagues.

ENTRANCE of COLUMBIA RIVER

(Lat: $46^{\circ} 19' N.$
 Long: $206^{\circ} 06' E.$
 Var. $20^{\circ} 00' E.$



ARCHIVES OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

Volume 248—Letter 78

Submitted to the Prudential Committee April 4, 1843

DOCT. MARCUS WHITMAN

Left the Oregon country 3d October 1842, & arrived at Westfort Mo. 15 February & in Boston 30 March, 1843. Left unexpectedly & brought few letters. Letters of March 1842—Making changes, had been received & acted on.

The difficulties between Mr. Spalding & the others was apparently healed, Mr. S. promises to pursue a different course. The mission wish to make another trial, with Mr. Smith & Mr. Gray out of the mission. Mr. Gray requests a dismissal—Has left the mission & gone to the Methodist settlement—Mr. Rogers also.

Prospects among the Indians more favorable—half the year from 30 to 100 & the other half from 100 to 300 attend worship at Waiiletpu & Clear Water, each—attention & advancing somewhat in knowledge—their temporal condition much improved & improving—the traders at Walla Walla decidedly friendly and accommodating.

There is, however, an influx of Papists, & many emigrants from the U. S. are expected. The religious influence needs to be strengthened. The mission therefore purpose request thus:

- 1—One preacher be sent to join them to labor at Waiiletpu—and that
- 2—A company of some five or ten men may be found, of piety & intelligence, not to be appointed by the Board or to be immediately connected with it, who will go to the Oregon country as Christian men, and who, on some terms to be agreed upon, shall take most of the land which the mission have under cultivation with the mills & shops at the several stations with most of the stock & utensils, paying the mission in produce, from year to year, in seed to the Indians, & assistance rendered to them—or in some similar manner, the

particulars to be decided upon in consultation with the men. The results of this would be

1. Introducing a band of religious men into the country to exert a good religious influence on the Indians & the white population which may come in—especially near the mission stations.

2. Counteracting papal efforts & influences.

3. Releasing the missionaries from the great amount of manual labor, which is now necessary for their subsistence, & permitting them to devote themselves to appropriate missionary work among the Indians, whose language they now speak.

4. Doing more for the civilization and social improvement of the Indians than the mission can do unaided.

5. It would afford facilities for religious families to go into the country & make immediately a comfortable settlement, with the enjoyment of Christian privileges.—Both those who might be introduced upon the lands now occupied by the mission & others who might be induced to go & settle in the vicinity of the stations.

6. It would save the mission from the necessity of trading with immigrants. Those now enter the country expect to purchase or beg their supplies from the mission for a year or two, & it would be thought cruel to refuse provide such supplies.

Fine country for sheep—on the hills. Hudson Bay Co. have now 15,000 or 20,000 & have \$800,000 or more to be invested by a collateral company for sheep, stock, lumber, agriculture &c—1000 sheep would not cost much over \$100 annually—Mr. Spalding has about 100 sheep.

Shall Doct. Whitman adopt any measures to recover from the Sioux, through the U. S. govt. the value of the property taken from Mr. Gray by them in 1838.

Mr. W. H. Gray asks a dismission to engage in a seminary in the Methodist settlement on the Wilamette.

Rev. H. H. Spalding requests that he may be allowed to remain in the mission, in which request the other brethren unite.

This document has been copied from the archives of the American Board of commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Library at the Congregational House, No. 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. Volume No. 248 is labelled ABENAIQUIS AND OREGON INDIANS, 1844-1859. In that volume document No. 78 is indexed as "Information given personally by Dr. Whitman in Boston, 1843." The volume contains various letters and reports from missionaries and others, including many pertaining to the murder of Dr. Whitman and subsequent events. Document No. 78 is not in the hand-writing of Dr. Whitman and is not signed. If not written on April 4th, 1843, by a secretary of the Prudential Committee, it obviously was prepared from the records of that committee and bound in among other papers relating to the Oregon Mission, one of which bears date as early as 1828. This document has not been heretofore printed, as far as known, and is now presented, without comment, for the use of those interested in one of the mooted questions in Oregon history.—T. C. ELLIOTT.

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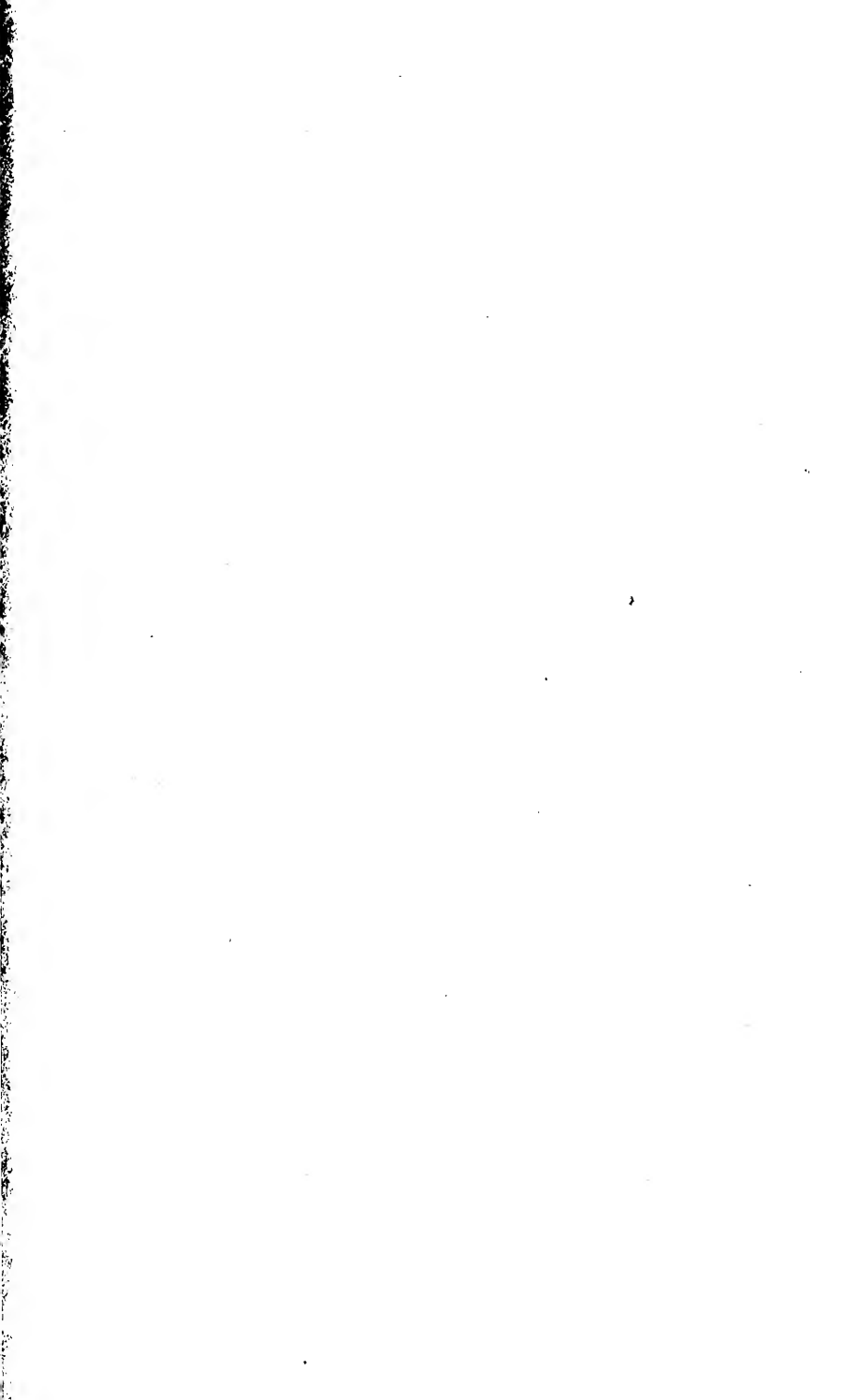
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